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NUMBER THREE

THE TRUE AND PERFECTE NEWES
of the Woorthy and Valiaunt Exploytes, Performed and Doone
by that Valiant Knight
SYR FRAUNCIS DRAKE
1587

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Le vray portraict du Cappitaine Draeck, lequel a circuit toute la terre, en trois annees, moins deux mois, et 17. iours, il partit du Royaulme D'Angleterre, le 13. de Decembre 1577. et fist son retour audict Royaulme, le 26. iour de Sept. 1580.

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Inserted in the British Museum copy of Bigges, W. *Expeditio Franciscii Draki*, Leydae, MDLXXXVIII, according to the *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits in the British Museum*, II, 84; the P. de la Houue.

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THE TRUE AND PERFECTE

NEVVES

OF THE WOORTHY AND VALIAUNT EXPLOYTES, PERFORMED AND DOONE BY THAT VALIANT KNIGHT

SYR FRAUNCIS DRAKE:

NOT ONELY AT SANCTO DOMINGO, AND CARTHAGENA, BUT ALSO NOWE AT CALES, AND VPPON THE COAST OF SPAYNE,

1587

by Thomas Greepe

Now Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Edition

in the Private Library of

HENRY C. TAYLOR, ESQ.

With an Introduction, Notes, and a Bibliography of English Military books by

DAVID W. WATERS, F. R. HIST. S. LT. COMDR., R. N.

Hartford : Printed *for* H.C.T. *by* C.P.R. 1955

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FOREWORD

Some ten years ago Professor William A. Jackson, the Librarian of the Houghton Library at Harvard, spent an evening looking at my collection of Americana and early books on Navigation. I told him of Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth's suggestion that I start publishing a series of Americana Nautica using the more or less little known or fugitive pieces in the collection for this series. Professor Jackson picked out as a likely item for this purpose, Thomas Greepe's "The true and perfecte Newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes . . . by that valiant Knight Syr *Frauncis Drake*" [London, 1587]. Now nearly a decade later, Lt. Commander David W. Waters, RN (retired) has produced an essay on this little Elizabethan ballad which I hope will prove of some interest to scholars.

This is number three in the series of Americana Nautica. Number one was privately printed at the Printing Office of the Yale University Press under the title, [Sevilla, Alonso de Coca, 1559] "Relacion Verdadera de los Trabajos e y Fortunas en . . . . El viaje del Rio de la Plata." Number two in the series was privately printed by the same press under the title [Rolfe, John] "A True Relation of the State of Virginia lefte by Sir Thomas Dale, Kt. in May last 1616," from an autograph manuscript in the writer's collection.

First and foremost I wish to thank Commander Waters for his painstaking research and able handling of the subject matter. Both Commander Waters and I are indebted to Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth for many suggestions but above all for his revision of the notes on the Boazio maps and for the photographs of these maps from the John Carter Brown copy of Walter Bigges, "A Sum-

marie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage," [London, 1589]. To Professor Sylvia England thanks are due for her revision of the manuscript and the research she did in connection with it at the British Museum. I also wish to acknowledge the help given us by Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale and Dr. Louis B. Wright of the Folger Library in reading the text and encouraging us to proceed.

As usual Carl P. Rollins has produced a book worthy in design and format of the standards of the Yale University Press and to him our most hearty thanks.

HENRY C. TAYLOR

Cold Spring Harbor
January, 1955.

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INTRODUCTION I

INTRODUCTION I

ASSESSMENT OF THE TRUE AND PERFECTE NEWES OF THAT VALIANT KNIGHT SYR FRAUNCIS DRAKE 1587

THE *true and perfecte Newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant Knight Syr Frauncis Drake* is a ballad narrating the details of Drake's world-resounding raid of 1585-86 upon the coast of Spain, the Spanish Atlantic islands, San Domingo in the Caribbean, Cartagena on the Spanish Main and St. Augustine on the Atlantic coast of Florida. Appended is a brief letter by Drake of how he 'singed the King of Spain's beard' at Cadiz in April, 1587.

The ballad played an important part in the social life of Elizabethan England. The population, estimated to have been between four and five million people, was scattered amongst innumerable hamlets and small towns. Books were expensive, newspapers unknown, and many people illiterate. Under these conditions the ballad was a valuable means of spreading news. The ballad-writer was the press reporter and photographer of the day who, for ease in memorising facts, put his narrative and word-pictures into verse instead of prose. All was grist that came to the mill of his mind. Social scandals, religious controversies, political disputes, military events, moralising tales, he could and did turn into verse, for he had a well-developed sense of entertainment as well as of news value. Indeed, his reputation amongst serious minded men and the poets and prose-writers consciously striving for literary merit was low. He was generally accused of being a drunkard—"every red-nosed rhymster is an author, every drunken man's dream is a book; and he, whose talent of little wit is hardly worth a farthing, yet layeth about him so outrageously as if all Helicon had run through his pen: in a word," wrote a critic of 1592, in *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, "Scarce a cat can look

out of a gutter, but out starts a halfpenny chronicler, and presently a proper new ballet of a strange sight is indited." The annoying thing was, however, that the out-pourings of the ballad-writer, whether he were in fact bibulous or sober, were undeniably popular. The women folk sitting at the spinning-wheel or carrying the milk-pail to the dairy, the men toiling at the harvest in the fields, sang them to their hearts' content.

> *"Some drunken rhymer thinks his time well spent*
> *if he can live to see his name in print."*

wrote Bishop Hall, scathingly, in 1597; but his concluding comments, though filled with scorn, pay tribute to the popularity of the products of the object of his abuse. For, he continued:

> *"Who, when he once is fleshed to the press,*
> *And sees his handsell have such fair success,*
> *Sung to the wheel, and sung unto the pail,*
> *He sends forth thraves of ballads to the sale."*

Nor was the itinerant ballad-monger more popular amongst reputable book-sellers and stationers. The authorities kept a close eye upon everything published. Only approved books, and, after August 1586, when the control exercised was tightened in the interests of security, only approved ballads were allowed to be printed, and these were registered, upon payment of a fee, with the London Stationers' Company. Despite this, accusations of the unauthorised publication of ballads, to the detriment of the business of the registered stationers, were bandied about, and probably with some justification, for, as the country folk in the counties adjoining the metropolis—the cultural centre of Elizabethan England—became more sophisticated, their appetite for news and intellectual entertainment, once tempted, became insatiable. "What hath there not contrary to order, been printed?" complained Henry Chettle, in 1592, "Now ballads are abusively chanted in every street; and from London this evil has overspread Essex and the adjoining counties. There is many a tradesman . . . yet no stationer . . . trusts his servants . . . with a dozen groats worth of ballads . . . to spread more pamphlets . . . than all the booksellers in London." In short the ballad was the popular press, and the ballad-monger was the news-agent and news-vendor of the day. Elizabeth's reign saw a great increase in the printing of ballads, and a great extension of their circulation in print amongst the people. So much so indeed that, by the time that Greepe, for instance, composed his ballad of Drake's operations, ballads were as widely read amongst both the rural and urban populace as they were chanted at the street corner and in the village square, sung on the farm and in the fold, or recited beside the cheerful hearths of tavern, inn and

croft.(1) Of course it must be remembered that this news-sheet kind of ballad was not the original ballad transmitted by oral tradition. On the whole, the broadsheet ballad was just doggerel. The older forms were far finer and really quite different in character and style.

Sometimes books and ballads registered never got published, or were published after many years delay. In the former category comes the *Discours in Commendacon of the Valiaunte and vertuous mynded Gentleman master Ffrauncis Drake* registered in January 1581 by John Charlewood, but never published, an entry which probably explains Richard Hakluyt's omission from his important *Divers Voyages*, of 1582, of reference to Drake's exploits, including his most famous voyage of circumnavigation, begun in December, 1577, and ended in September, 1580. Sometimes a ballad was still-born because a prose version had preceded it, and had satisfied the public demand; sometimes it was because the publisher merely wished to safeguard himself against the publication by a rival of a ballad based on one of his own pamphlets. No one could print a ballad if it belonged "to any other man." Registering a ballad was rather like registering the film rights of a book.(2)

The earliest Elizabethan nautical ballads relate to Thomas Stukely's Florida voyage. The first, of which only a fragment survives, was *made by one beynge greatly impoverished by the viage prepared for Terra Floryday* and appeared in 1561; the second, entitled *A Commendation of the Adventurous Viage of the worthy Captain M. Thomas Stukely Esquire and others towards the land called Terra Floriday*, published two years later, survives. In 1566 was registered the ballad *Row well, ye mariners*, famous enough in its time to be converted more than once into a spiritual song of an allegorical nature. Though the tune has survived, the words are lost.(3) A ballad on *the perilous paynes of poore*

1. Quoted in Chappell, W. *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*. 2 Vol. London, 1855-9.

   Chettle, H. *Kind-Hart's Dreame*, London, 1592.

   Hall, J. *Virigidemiarvm, Sixe Bookes. First three Bookes, Of Toothlesse Satyrs* (1. Poeticall, 2. Academicall, 3. Morall). London. Printed by Thomas Creede for Robert Dexter, 1597.

2. Arber, E. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*. Vol. II—Text, London, 1875.

   Trevelyan, G. M. *English Social History*, London. (Reprint Society Ed.) 1948.

   McKerrow, R. B. "Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade," *Shakespeare's England*. 2.v. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916.

3. Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, Percy Society, 1840, p. 72. *Old English Popular Music* by W. Chappell, ed. 1893, i, 27.

maryners was licensed in October, 1579, and another, describing the fate of a notorious pirate, *Ye Fatall Farewell of Captaine Gilbert Horseley* in December of the same year. In the following March the nautical ballad

> 'A Pastport for Pirates wherein they maye mark:
> and shunn their abuse by the Death of Tom Clarke.'

was licensed, and two years later a second ballad on *The danger of Sailers and their troubles, turmoile, and paine etc.* A third ballad on pirates and piracy was *Clinton's Lamentation,* registered in 1583. The next year *The Sailors New Tantara,* was published. In 1585 appeared Henry Robart's *A Friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake;* in 1586 the ballad *The confession of 9 Rovers, Clinton and Purser beinge chief,* and two ballads, *In praise of the Quenes Shippes,* were registered, one by Edward White, and one, "*begynnynge O ye Eliz. Jonas,*" by Edward Aldee. In August of the same year Henry Carre registered, along with twenty other ballads, one on *The victory of ye Prymrose against the Spanyardes and the escape of the Violet*—thus commemorating the incident that fired the train of events leading up to Drake's Caribbean raid of 1586 and his Cadiz raid of 1587. Drake returned from the former exploit in July 1586 and sailed again from Plymouth for Cadiz on 2nd April, 1587. On the 15th June, 1587, Thomas Hacket paid sixpence to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company to register the printing of *The exploictes and enterprises of Sir Ffrauncis Drake at Sainct Domingo etc*—Greepe's ballad. Attached by Hacket to this ballad, was Drake's despatch from off the coast of Spain, received in England seven weeks earlier.(4) Thus Greepe's ballad is the fifteenth nautical ballad known to have been published up till that time in Elizabeth's reign.(5) Of these fifteen, three dealt with voyages of exploration and survive either wholly or in part. Of the remainder the tune of one and the words of another—Greepe's—alone survive. Thus Greepe's ballad is a precious survival indeed of the age when England was first rising to fame upon the foam of perilous seas. Indeed it is trebly precious. Not only is it one of the few nautical ballads surviving from Elizabethan days. It is also the earliest, and was for two years the sole printed account of the opening moves of what may properly be called the Armada Campaign. It is also the earliest printed narrative of any of Drake's achievements. It is true that in his farewell ballad to Drake's Caribbean venture, *A most friendly farewell,*

4. Captain Robert Crosse reached London with the despatch 24th April/4th May, vide *Span.* Cal. IV, No. 112, p. 110.

5. Arber *op. cit.* and *Naval Songs and Ballads.* Navy Records Society, Vol. XXXIII.

given by a welwiller to the right worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight,(6) Henry Robarts claimed briefly to touch upon the perils passed in Drake's "last daungerous voiage"—his voyage of circumnavigation of 1577-80. But Robarts's ballad is remarkable for how little it tells the reader of what Drake actually did. It never even clearly states that he sailed round the world! Robarts in fact was labouring under the difficulty from which all biographers of Drake have suffered—a paucity of facts remarkable for a man whose name was and still is a household word, and of whom Robarts truly wrote, "The like was never seene nor heard since England first did sta[n]d . . . Who when he dies shal stil remaine infame on earth alwaies." The fact is, Robarts had to rely on hearsay. "None have writ that earst I sawe," he complained. The consequence was that he wrote round his subject, extolling his hero's fame without specifying his deeds. "You know the valour of the man is more than I can say," is a sentence typical of Robarts's description of Drake's "last daungerous voiage." What more could he do of one "whose exploits were expressed rather by others than himselfe (sauing what in duetie he must of force set doune)"? (7)

Upon examination, therefore, Greepe's ballad, far from being 'a curious poem,' 'an account of the taking of Cartagena in halting verse,' proves to be a product of considerable historical as well as literary interest: it is a perfect example of the newsprint ballad form. Printed in 1587, it has never since been reprinted in full. Surviving copies are rare: the Short Title Catalogue records a copy in the British Museum, a second in the Harmsworth Library, and a third in the Huntington Library.(8) There is a fourth copy in the library of Henry C. Taylor, Esq. of New York. Of Thomas Greepe, the ballad-writer, no more is known than what he tells us of himself in his dedication to his patron the Earl of Cumberland, whom he selected, no doubt, as a nobleman with an interest in the sea and renowned as much for his lavish spending as for his skill at knightly tourneys.(9) In the dedication Greepe describes himself

6. Robarts, H. *A most friendly farewell . . .* London, [1585]. Harvard University Press, 1924. See list of sources for full title.

7. Haslop, H. *Newes out of the Coast of Spaine.* London, 1587.

8. Pollard, A. W. and Redgrave, G. H. Comp. *A Short Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad,* 1475-1640. London, 1926. The Harmsworth copy is now in the Folger Shakespeare library.

9. Clifford, George, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Oxford where he studied mathematics and geography. He married Margaret, third daughter of the third Earl of Bedford, in 1577. Prodigal as well as learned, he rapidly

as a simple countryman, brought up for many years in husbandry and better qualified to cultivate the land than to describe military operations. Nowhere does he claim to have taken part himself in Drake's West Indian Expedition, and, although one modern writer has stated that he did so, no evidence has come to light to confirm such a claim. It is true that on occasion in the course of his narrative Greepe uses the word "our" instead of "their," but the context makes it clear that he does so in order to differentiate more clearly between the actions of the English and of the Spanish forces. Against this, and therefore favouring the view that Greepe did make one of that Expedition, must be noted the remarkable accuracy of what he described as his "rudlie written" verses. There were no published sources from which he could have spun the fabric of his ballad; as, in a number of details, his narrative differs from the only prose account eventually published, Bigges's *Summarie and True Discourse*, London, 1589, and thus from its *MS.*, and also from the unpublished *MS.* account dubbed by Corbett *The Primrose Log*, it is possible Greepe was giving a personal account. Certainly its faithfulness is confirmed by perusal of only a selection of the multitudinous Spanish reports, official and unofficial, of Drake's proceedings. (10)

ran through the greater part of his estate, and in 1586 fitted out a fleet of three ships and a pinnace, under the leadership of Captain Robert Withrington, which he intended to enter the Pacific via the Strait of Magellan. They left Plymouth under Withrington's command in August; but were destined to return in September 1587, having turned back in the Atlantic after having reached latitude 44° S.

Cumberland was a courtier, gambler, and was soon to be a privateer, with a strong sense of adventure. He combined great physical beauty with intrepid courage and remarkable skill in all knightly accomplishments. His marriage, however, was not successful and he parted from his wife. His most celebrated voyage was recounted by the mathematician Edward Wright in his *Certaine Errours in Navigation*, London, 1599. This was a privateering voyage made in 1589 to the Azores.

For the relationship between patron and author in Elizabethan England, see Sheavyn, P. The *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*. Manchester U. P. 1909. Smith, D. N. "Authors and Patrons"—*Shakespeare's England*, 2 v. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916.

10. Masefield, J. *A Sailor's Garland*. London, 1906.

Bigges, Walter. *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*. London, 1589.

The Primrose Log. (Bibl. Reg. 7. C.XVI, f. 166) was printed by Corbett, J. S. in Navy Records Society, Vol. XI. *The Spanish War*, 1585-7.

See especially Wright, I. A. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*. London, 1951. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Ser. II, No. 99).

The despatch appended to Greepe's ballad was dictated by Sir Francis Drake "in very great haste" on 27th April, 1587, from aboard his flag-ship, the Queen's *Elizabeth Bonaventure* to the ecclesiastical historian and martyrologist, John Foxe. In it Drake briefly describes his daring raid of a week before upon the Spanish shipping in Cadiz harbour gathering for the invasion of England, planned by King Philip to take place that year, and warns that "it is most certain that the King doth not only make speedy preparation in Spain, but likewise expecteth a very great fleet from the Straits and divers other places to join with his forces to invade England." This letter is almost word for word similar to the official despatch which Sir Francis sent the same day to Mr. Secretary John Wolley, the Latin Secretary of State, or, as we should express it today, the Foreign Secretary responsible for Spanish affairs. These despatches, together with a longer one, also of 27th April, to Sir Francis Walsingham as Secretary of State, were carried home to England by Captain (later Sir) Robert Crosse, who during the Armada battles of the next year was Drake's Vice-Admiral. They contained news which set all Europe by the ears, and first filled the Venetian Ambassador's mind with doubts about the prospects of the Armada's ultimate success. John Foxe never read Drake's letter to him; he had died before Drake had dictated it to his secretary, William Spencer, and in his own hand had added "Your loving friend and faithful son in Jesus Christ, Francis Drake."

Both Thomas Hacket, the publisher of Greepe's ballad and of Drake's despatch, and John Charlewood, the printer, were original members of the Stationers' Company, having been in business when it received its first Charter from Queen Mary, in 1557. However their exploitation of Drake's 'news value' did not pass unchallenged. On the very day that Hacket registered Greepe's ballad, Henry Haslop, or Hasselup as he sometimes spelt it, registered the printing of "The most fortunate and honourable service for England performed by Sir Ffrauncis Drake the 19 of Aprill 1587 with his latest exploictes."

Henry Haslop had been made a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1586 only after eight years apprenticeship, first to William How, and then to Roger Ward. He appears to have set up at once as a printer. This was unusual, and was to become more so, for, in the August of that year, as a result of the various conspiracies against Elizabeth's life, the regulations governing the printing of books, pamphlets, and ballads, were tightened and vigorously enforced and the number of printers reduced. There were then only fifty-three in the City of London, where, with the exception of the recently authorised presses at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, all authorised presses were established. This

number was to be reduced by more than half.(11) Consequently stationers often never developed into printers, or became printers only after many years of publishing, when vacancies occurred through death. Haslop must have been a man of considerable ability, for in April 1587 he had registered the printing of what was probably the most ambitious undertaking hitherto attempted by an English press, Sir Ashley Cooper's translation of the first Dutch "waggoner," or book of sailing directions complete with numerous navigational tables and diagrams and many large scale engraved charts, *The Mariners Mirror*. Now, in June, Haslop was publishing the latest news of Drake's activities on the coast of Spain, and dedicating it to no less a person than the Lord high Admiral and Captain-General, or, as we should say to-day, Supreme Commander, "of all her Maiesties Seas and Navie Royall," Lord Howard of Effingham. The news took the form of a letter from Thomas Fenner, commanding the Queen's *Dreadnought,* to a cousin, describing the Cadiz action in some detail and also of a short letter of proceedings from Drake, dated 21st May, recounting the events "since the departure of Captain Crosse" who, it will be recalled, had taken home amongst others, the despatch appended by Hacket to Greepe's ballad. Haslop, unlike Hacket, edited the despatches he published. The result was far from happy, for he buried them in a wordy introduction full of the classical allusions beloved by military writers of the time. Whereas Hacket's production of Drake's despatch rivets the attention by the very starkness of its presentation, in Haslop's the vigour of Drake's writing and his sense of urgency are buried under a mass of verbiage. Thus Haslop's work, far from detracting by reason of its later news from Hacket's, emphasises its intrinsic worth.(12)

11. McKerrow, R. B. "Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers' Trade," *Shakespeare's England*, 2 V. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916.

12. Arber, *op. cit.* Duff, G. E. *A Century of the English Book Trade*, London, 1905; McKerrow, R. B. (Ed.) *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640.* London, 1910.

    Hind, A. M. *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Part 1. The Tudor Period.* C.U.P. 1952, discusses the engraving of the charts in *The Mariners Mirror.*

INTRODUCTION II

From the *Spanish Ambassador to the Court of St. James'* to KING PHILIP
1st March, 1582. (*Span. Cal. III, No. 225, p. 306*)

Drake has not yet left England, but not a day passes that he does not say a thousand shameless things, amongst others that he will give the Queen 80,000 ducats if she will grant him leave to arm ships to meet your Majesty's fleets, although, of course, he has not the slightest idea of doing such a thing. The other night, while supping with the Earl of Sussex, Arundel, and other gentlemen, he was boasting of what he had done, when Sussex remarked that it was no great thing for an armed ship to capture another vessel loaded with money, but with only eight unarmed men on board of her. Drake replied that he was quite capable of making war on your Majesty, whereupon Arundel told him he wondered how a man like him should have the impudence to imagine such a thing of the greatest monarch on earth, who was strong enough to wage war against all the world united.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

INTRODUCTION II

THE ORIGIN, COURSE, AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DRAKE'S CARIBBEAN RAID OF 1585 – 1586

THOUGH we know nothing of Greepe's personal habits he does tell us in the second verse of his ballad that he had the true instinct of the new ballad-writer—perception of the people's love "*To heare of Nouels straunge and rare*," and he does capture, in the four opening and three closing verses, something of the pride and delight and almost incredulous amazement, mingled with humble thanksgiving, with which the news of Drake's exploits on the coast of Spain and in the Caribbean were received in England.

> "Triumph O England and reioyce
> And prayse thy God uncessantly . . ."

are the opening words Greepe chooses for celebrating Drake's victories

> "In Countryes strange both farre and neere . . .
> Such rare exploytes performde and doone
> As none the like hath euer woone . . ."

In the third verse he prompts his reader's memory of Gideon's overthrow of the Midian host with a handful of men; in the fourth he reminds them that,

> "So likewise by Gods mighty hande
> Syr Frauncis Drake by dreadfull sworde
> Did foyle his foe in foraine lande . . ."

Again, in the last three verses of the ballad he asks them to praise God's name for Drake's

> "Valiant minde, his secrete skill . . .
> His loyall loue, his meere good will . . .
> With God is dooer of the same . . ."

And he ends by recalling that it was

> "Through him he got great victories,
> Through him he did his foes dismay,
> Through him he scapt great ieopardies,
> And perril both by Land and Sea . . ."

Even as Gideon's vanquishing of the Midians, and as David's killing of Goliath, so seemed Drake's actions against King Philip's arms and empire to humble English folk. The Spaniards saw them in another light: they thought Drake to be in league with the devil!

What in fact had Drake achieved by his expedition? With what forces and by what tactics had he so successfully assaulted the strong points of King Philip's Spanish Empire overseas?

When Drake, in September 1580, had returned to England from his voyage of circumnavigation, and with the *Golden Hind* ballasted with Spanish treasures, Philip had been digesting the conquest of Portugal and her empire, begun a few months earlier. Until he had captured the Azores, which had declared for Don Antonio, the Portuguese 'pretender' who had escaped to England, Philip could not risk war. The Azores lay across the track of the Spanish treasure fleets from the Caribbean islands, New Spain and the Spanish Main, and also across that of the Portuguese galleons with their costly ladings of jewels, silks and spices from the East. An English fleet based on the Azores, and operating in support of Don Antonio, might well have successfully intercepted and attacked Philip's treasure ships. He could not afford to risk losing any revenue. His finances were always stretched to the utmost. The loss of the Indies treasure, even for one year, would have seriously affected his ability to maintain his armies and finance their campaigns in Europe.

It was not until the close of 1583 that the Azores were finally subjugated, and Philip's admiral, Santa Cruz, was in a position to forward plans for the invasion of England. But a year elapsed before the political situation in France, the military position in the Low Countries, and the progress made in forming a Spanish Atlantic fleet, gave promise that an invasion of England could be made with success.

The death of the Duke of Anjou in France in July, 1584, had widened and deepened the rift between French Catholic and Huguenot to such an extent that civil war was certain to be revived in the new year; in the same month the assassination of William the Silent, the heart and brain of Dutch resistance to Spanish domination in the Low Countries, presaged its political and military collapse; while the appointment of Santa Cruz in June to be Captain-General of the Ocean Sea, Supreme

Commander in the Atlantic, had been given point by the absorption of Portuguese oceanic warships into the Spanish galley-fleets. Diplomatic relations with England had already been severed; Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, had been ordered from England in January, 1584, for his complicity in the abortive Throgmorton plot on Elizabeth's life. In the autumn, Parma had begun advancing upon Antwerp, the Scheldt, and the Northern Provinces. By early 1585 it was clear to Elizabeth and her Council that, with the imminent opening of the campaigning season, the Dutch situation was so precarious as directly to endanger the security of England. Should Parma gain control of the Scheldt, he would have the ideal and unique base from which he could launch the long-rumoured invasion of England. Accordingly, plans to despatch the expedition fitting out in the Thames to the Pacific and East Indies under Drake's command were abandoned, and Elizabeth decided to equip it, against the possibility of war with Spain, for operations in European and Caribbean waters. At the same time she resolved to give direct military support to the Dutch. English volunteer military forces had been assisting them since 1572. In March Walsingham gave the Dutch Elizabeth's proposals. These were that she should take them under her protection, provide military forces to assist them, and hold, as pledges of Dutch good faith, the key forts guarding the mouth of the Scheldt. The English knew what they were about. With the Scheldt forts in their hands, they would be able to deny the use of the Scheldt to any invasion fleet Philip might despatch against England.

The negotiations were protracted. By May Parma had begun investing Antwerp. Then Philip precipitated events by a clumsy act. There had been a dearth of corn in northern Spain; many ships, including English ones, had transported grain to the Biscayan ports. At the end of May Philip ordered "the staying and arresting of all the shipping on the coast," and the seizure of all their crews, weapons, and goods, that they might serve as transports for "the great fleet" preparing at Lisbon and Cadiz. Only French ships, being small, were excepted. Two English ships, however, the *Violet* and the *Primrose*, escaped, the latter to reach England in early June with one of the Spanish officials, complete with his instructions, a prisoner on board. Elizabeth reacted by authorising the Lord high Admiral, Lord Howard, to issue in reprisal immediate letters of marque. While a squadron of these vessels under Carew Raleigh ravaged the Spanish tunny fisheries so as to prevent Santa Cruz from victualling a fleet with salted tunny fish, Elizabeth commissioned Bernard Drake, a relative of Sir Francis, to proceed immediately to Newfoundland to warn English shipping of Philip's action, to capture the Spanish and Portuguese cod-fishing fleet and bring it home to England.

The speed with which Carew Raleigh's ships wrought havoc amongst the Spanish shipping and fisheries caused the greatest concern to Santa Cruz, while Bernard Drake's capture of the whole Newfoundland fleet (Walsingham had drafted his orders on 20th June) deprived him of several hundred seasoned seamen and a second staple victual, dried cod, for the fleet he was preparing. Meanwhile, at the end of June, the Dutch had resumed in earnest their negotiations with Elizabeth. Accordingly, on 1st July she recommissioned Sir Francis Drake to command the expedition preparing in the Thames with orders to force the release of the shipping impounded in Spain. Not a rumour of these developments reached Philip. The English had imposed an embargo upon all unauthorised shipping movements the moment the *Primrose* had brought her fateful news. No stranger could visit any sea-ports without his identity being established and his business known. The secrecy was made complete by the arrest of Mendoza's principal secret agent, Pedro de Zubiaur, who hitherto had kept him rapidly informed of every important English measure. Thus, unknown to Philip, on July 15th Drake's fleet was moved round from the Thames to Plymouth. Here it was held in readiness to depart as soon as it was certain that the negotiations with the Dutch had been satisfactorily concluded, and that Carew Raleigh and Bernard Drake had done their work. Eventually Elizabeth agreed that an English Expeditionary Force was to be despatched to the relief of Antwerp on August 15th. However, a week before that date Antwerp fell. Little time was now spent in argument, and a definite treaty, placing the Dutch under English protection, promising 4,000 troops, later increased to 5,000 and 1,000 horse, and entitling the English to garrison the vital Scheldt ports, was signed on the 10th. Troops were immediately levied, and, at the end of August, the first Redcoats crossed the Narrow Seas. By the end of the year, over 7,000 English troops had been despatched; Flushing and the fort of Rammekins, guarding the mouth of the Scheldt, had been garrisoned; and Leicester had taken up the command as Captain General of the English forces.

As soon as the first of these well-publicised military moves was well under way, and news of Bernard Drake's, as well as Carew Raleigh's, success had been received, Sir Francis had the order to sail. He did so on September 14th, before his stores were properly stowed and his water-casks full, but also before the Queen could repent of her decision, and before news of his sailing orders could reach Spain from reliable agents. To all save a very few Englishmen his ultimate destination was unknown.(1)

1. The chief sources for this survey of events leading up to the departure of Drake's expedition are (for full titles see List of Sources) *Calendars of*

The plan now was that Drake should proceed at once to the coast of Northern Spain, demand, if necessary force, the release of the impounded English ships, then go south and attempt to intercept and if possible seize, the Spanish treasure fleets as they made their landfall at St. Vincent.(2) Should he fail in this latter endeavour he was to follow the outward and return routes of the fleets, systematically destroying the defences of, and holding to ransom, the principal ports of call, lading, and assembly used by them, and crossing, if possible, the Isthmus of Panama to raid Panama itself, the chief treasure house of the Pacific.

Thus, should Drake fail to intercept and capture the treasure fleets which by September were due to arrive in Spanish waters, he was committed to undertaking a series of the most difficult of war-like operations, conjunct naval and military attacks upon enemy strong points remote from his bases. The plan was bold, for when Arundel, over the dinner table had bluntly told Drake he wondered how a man like him should have the impudence to imagine he was capable of waging war on the greatest monarch on earth, who was strong enough to wage war against the whole united world, he had voiced the views of many. Since then Philip had fully digested Portugal, and had begun creating something Spain had not had before, an Atlantic fleet. Added to this, Spain was at the peak of her military reputation: her armies had repeatedly proved that in discipline, equipment, arms, organisation and leadership in the field and in the art of fortification and siege warfare, they were second to none in Europe. That reputation was applied by most men to the Spanish defences and forces in the Indies. Against these Drake could deploy only relatively small forces, two heavily gunned royal ships—a

State Papers; Hakluyt, R. *Principal Navigations;* Tenison, E. M. *Elizabethan England;* Wright, I. A. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America;* Prowse, *History of Newfoundland;* the author's "Elizabethan Navy and the Armada Campaign"; *The Fugger News Letters, 1568-1605, 2nd Series;* and the works of J. A. Williamson, which embody much recent research in a succinct style.

2. An Irish gentleman informed Cornelius Ryan, Papal bishop of Killalee, who passed the information immediately to Santa Cruz, that on April 6th, 1585, Drake's fleet had not yet left, and that "his intention is to look for His Majesty's ships as they come from the Indies, to relieve them of the gold, silver and jewels they carry" and that he was still "working hard to get away."

Wright, I. A. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America,* Document No. 6. This information fills a gap in the English records relating to the expedition covering the early months of 1585. It confirms that the expedition was still in preparation and shows that its object had already been changed by April, 1585.

flag-ship of 600 tons, the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, and the *Aid* of 250 tons —and some nineteen less heavily gunned privateers and merchant ships of which the largest was the Galleon *Leicester* of 400 tons. In all he had, it is to-day considered, twenty-one ships and eight pinnaces (not twenty-five ships and fifteen pinnaces as Greepe says), the latter to serve for inshore operations and for landing the ten companies of soldiers carried. The whole expedition was financed as a Joint Stock Syndicate whose investors paid all expenses. Nominally the Queen contributed one third of the shares, with £10,000 in cash and two ships, overvalued at another £10,000. If, by the seizure of treasure and payment of ransoms, a profit were made, all would share it; if not, the investors would have to meet the losses. This was not, as often asserted, a parsimonious arrangement typifying the meanness of the Queen; it was sound national finance. It can be argued that in no other way could the country afford the expense of naval operations waged concurrently with military ones. The expeditionary force and military assistance being given in the Netherlands was already estimated to cost the Crown £126,000 a year, or nearly half the normal annual revenue. This in itself meant that the country would have to go on to a stringent war economy. While this commitment was inescapable and represented a certain loss, Drake's expedition was not unavoidable, and might involve further loss. Moreover, it represented a new form of warfare—oceanic warfare—and was thus in the nature of a gamble whose returns, if there were any, would at best be long-term. No wonder the Queen and her Council looked upon it as an indulgence whose costs its proposers could largely under-write themselves.

The seamen and the ten companies of pikemen and musketeers numbered, together with their officers, some 2,300 men, and were all volunteers. In addition to powder, the munitions issued included slow-match for firing the cannon and muskets, bows and arrows, still popular in English military circles, pikes, both short and long for the tall strong soldiers, halberds, a weapon part spear and part axe, mounted on a shaft five or six feet long and used for unseating horsemen, and black-bills, a weapon with a concave blade on a wooden shaft, for the middling sized soldiers, and muskets and bastard-muskets (probably calivers), lighter weapons which, unlike muskets, could be fired from the shoulder without the aid of a forked rest, for the soldiers who were 'little and nimble.'

The musketeers carried, besides their piece and rest, powder in a flask, a 'touch' of match which smouldered when lit by their flint and steel, and with which they ignited the powder in the pan to discharge the musket, a rimer, ram-rod, mould for casting their shot, and a sword and dagger. On their heads they wore a morion (a hat-shaped open helmet of steel) and were clad in jacket, breeches and a light brigandine, or

doublet of rings or plates. The pikemen, halberdiers, and billmen also carried a sword and dagger, and were armed with a morion, and either a brigandine or a corselet of light sleeveless armour, to protect the breast against thrust and push of pike, sword blow, and impact of bullet.(3) Unlike the soldiers, the sailors provided their own swords and daggers.

The officers represented the pick of England's naval and military commanders. Drake, now a vigorous forty-two, and for the first time sailing with the Queen's commission, was both Admiral of the fleet and Captain-General of the troops. Martin Frobisher in the now famous *Primrose*, his Vice-Admiral, was a tough, hasty-tempered seaman of the highest repute, who had voyaged in his youth to Guinea, and in the late '70s had commanded three expeditions to the North-West in search of a passage to the East and of gold. Francis Knollys, a cousin of the Queen, and Leicester's brother-in-law, was Drake's Rear-Admiral in the Galleon *Leicester*. Commanding the troops under Drake as Lieutenant-General was Christopher Carleill, eight years Drake's junior in age, a vigorous and experienced seaman and soldier. Walsingham was his father-in-law. Many failures are recorded in the history of conjunct operations. Drake, indeed, was to cloud the glory of his reputation by the disaster of the Portugal Expedition launched so buoyantly in the year after the Armada to reap the fruits of that victory. Much responsibility has always lain with the chain of command, the thoroughness of the preparations, and the personality as well as the ability of the chief commanders. That Drake's Caribbean Expedition was in many ways conspicuously successful must be attributed in no small measure to the system of the command and the choice of Carleill as Lieutenant-General of the land force. Inured to the hardships of ship-board life and the exigencies of fleet operations—Carleill had commanded the English ships under the Prince of Condé at the siege of La Rochelle in '72, and as Admiral of the Muscovy Company's Baltic fleet in '82—he was equally inured to the hardships of active service in the field and experienced in the command of troops in camp and fort. A Cornishman by birth, he had first crossed the Narrow Seas to the wars at the age of twenty-two to serve there in the forces of the Prince of Orange. He had risen to be Sergeant-Major, or Chief of Staff, to Sir John Norris commanding the English volunteers in

3. Hakluyt, R. *Principal Navigations*, London, 1600. "Resolution of the hand captains" inserted in Bigges's account.
Digges, T. *Stratioticos*, London, 1579.
Arber *op. cit.* Vol. V, pl. XXVII.
Styward, T. *Pathway to Martial Discipline*, London, 1581.
Corbett, J. S. *The Spanish War*—"Inventory of Munitions."

the Netherlands and in 1580 when the key city-fortress of Steenwijk had been closely besieged he had been chosen by the hard-bitten Flanders veterans of all nationalities in the relieving force as 'head of the Camp.' His varied naval and military experience had given him a breadth of outlook exemplified by his pamphlet of 1583 on colonisation, and his successful administration of the Coleraine district in northern Ireland from which task—assumed after active naval as well as military operations in Ireland—he had been called to join Drake. The thoroughness of the military preparations, and the training for the present Expedition, and the efficiency of its administration, to say nothing of the tactical brilliance with which the land forces, once set on shore, were handled, all bear the stamp of Carleill's generalship, that of a man at once "courageous, marvellously assiduous and attentive" and of "great uprightness and integrity." That Drake and Frobisher—two firebrands—worked harmoniously together can be attributed chiefly to the conciliatory skill of the third member of this trinity of talent, for, in addition to his military and naval skill, he had the reputation of being a man liberal in habit and affable in manner.(4) The portrait of him that has come down to us is of a handsome soldier with a singularly intelligent and alert expression. Evidence of his studies are the commendatory verses he wrote as an introduction to John Sadler's translation, published in 1572, of Vegetius' martial works.(5) Carleill was deeply interested in the economic and strategic advantages of colonisation in North America. See, in our List of Sources, his *A Discourse upon the entended Voyage*. By merit of his naval experience, Carleill combined his military office with that of captain of the *Tiger*, a ship of 200 tons. A military headquarters staff of a Sergeant-Major or Chief of Staff, Captain Antony Powell, and two Corporals of the Field or Junior Staff Officers, Captains Mathew Morgan and John Sampson, was responsible for issuing Carleill's marching orders and for collating intelligence.(6) Subordinate to these military officers were the ten company commanders, of Captain's rank, each with a Lieutenant to assist him, and "a diligent Serieant, vigilant Corporals, a godly Priest, a trustie Clearke or Recorder, a prouident Harbinger, a cunning Surgeon, with necessarie prouision, and two or three good Drummes."(7)

Besides the captains of ships already mentioned there sailed Thomas Fenner, Drake's flag-captain in the *Bonaventure*, Thomas Drake, a

4. Blandy, W. *The Castle*, London, 1581.
   Holland, H. *Herωologia Anglica*, London, 1620.
5. Sadler, J. *The Foure bookes of Flavius*, London, 1572.
6. Bigges, Walter *A Svmmarie and Trve Discovrse*, London, 1589.
7. Digges, T. *Stratioticos*, London, 1579.

CHRISTOPHER CARLEILL

Lieutenant-General and Captain of the Queen's ship Tiger *on Drake's Caribbean Expedition 1585-6. Born 1549 (?); died 1593.*

Another plate, (reproduced by permission from a print in the Royal Library, Windsor) is cut down in the royal copy, and has inscribed at the foot:

Captaine Christopher Carleill Esquire
At any time if Carleill led a fleete
Neptune would lay his trident at his feete,
And when by land his powers he did advance,
Mars himself would be glad to bow ats' launce,
Let then both Land and Sea his fame forth tell,
Who both on Sea and Land deserved so well.

brother of the Admiral, Tom Moore, one of Drake's oldest and most devoted followers, several who had voyaged with him round the world, Richard Hawkins, son of Drake's first commander, John Hawkins, and Edward Winter, also a commander of a company and son of the Surveyor of the Queen's ships, Sir Edward Winter.

"The General, . . ." Thomas Digges had written six years before, "should serve as a mirrour to the whole Armie . . . Briefly," he continued, "he must be Religious, Temperate, Sober, Wise, Valiaunte, Liberal, Curtous, Eloquent, of good Fame and Reputation; learned in Histories, and in those Sciences and Artes that may enhable him of himselfe, without directions from others, readily to conceyue and iudge Militaire Actions of all sortes . . ."

Unquestionably Drake incorporated all these moral virtues together with some not very serious frailties. We have a vivid word-picture of him in the hour of his triumph at San Domingo, from García Fernández de Torrequemada, King Philip's factor for Hispaniola, who negotiated the city's ransom after its capture. "Drake," he informed the crown, "is a man of medium stature, blonde, rather heavy than slender, merry, careful. He commands and governs imperiously. He is feared and obeyed by his men. He punishes resolutely. Sharp, restless, well-spoken, inclined to liberality and to ambition, vain-glorious, boastful, not very cruel. These are the qualities I noted in him during my negotiations with him."(8)

But was Drake "learned in Histories," and was he by training "able to conceive and judge military actions of all sorts"? Or had he some innate "secrete skill," to use Greepe's phrase, which in itself alone accounted for the success of his naval and of his military operations? And what of the subordinate commanders—we know Carleill was a student of war—and their men? When and how had they acquired the knowledge and practice of military organisation, discipline and training which they displayed in their feats of arms?

Although there was no regular or standing English army, small but permanent garrisons were kept on the Scottish border at Berwick-on-Tweed, and in Ireland; while an Armoury and an Ordnance Office responsible for procuring, conditioning and issuing armour, arms, ordnance, and munitions of all sorts to the Queen's ships, and to forces levied for overseas military service were permanently maintained. It was from the Ordnance Office that Drake, on the authority of his commission, drew the arms and ordnance for his Expedition. In addition there were

8. Wright I. A. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America.* Hak. Soc. 1951. Document No. 56.

County Ordnance Offices where arms, provided out of County funds, were stored for issue to the militia forces. These were organised on a County basis, and all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were liable for service in its bands either at home or overseas, men registered as seamen or fishermen being liable for service in the Queen's ships. The militia was levied by direction of the Privy Council, and about forty per cent of the bands were kept trained by captains commissioned by the Council. The militia officers were also drawn from the nobility and gentry who frequently made soldiering their profession, serving abroad in foreign armies or in volunteer forces such as had been maintained in the Low Countries for the last fourteen years, if opportunities for service were lacking at home. In addition to learning by precept from their military instructors and more experienced brothers-in-arms, and by their personal experiences, many officers were deeply versed in classical and contemporary continental military histories and text-books. They discussed in speech, and some in print, the principles of war, problems of discipline and administration, the relative merits of different weapons and tactical formations, sleights and stratagems of war, and the advantages of secrecy and of surprise. With the exception of the recent writings of an Englishman, a gunner called William Bourne, and an occasional classical reference to galley warfare, all the text books related to military operations. Nevertheless they were studied by sea and land officers alike, for their commands were still frequently interchangeable; and were, indeed, often combined. Of this practice Drake's Expedition provides plenty of examples. However, a regular body of sea-going military, as well as mercantile officers, was forming, from which the Crown selected captains, other officers of royal ships, and commanders of squadrons. Some of these served permanently on the Navy Board, which, under the direction of the Lord high Admiral, maintained and administered "the navy royal." Amongst other traditions they inherited the naval war experience of Henry VIII's days, in the form of written fighting instructions. Military writers dedicated or addressed books to these officers, either specifically or by implication, as frequently as they did to purely military men. Thus the competence of many of Drake's officers was certainly the fruit, to use John Sadler's words, of "diligente learninge and studyinge of the feates of warre." So too was Drake's, for he had the reputation of having "studied to withstand his countries enemies," as well as of having "laboured to enrich us by their impoverishment."(9) Coupled with his enthusiasm, energy and determination, Drake's studied competence in martial affairs was irresistible. His "secrete skill" was therefore the result, to use an expression of Thomas Digges, now Leices-

9. Haslop, H. *Newes out of the Coast of Spaine*, London, 1587.

ter's Muster Master in the Low Countries, of "the reduction of Imaginative Contemplations into sensible Practical Conclusions."(10)

Up to Elizabeth's accession only four military text books had been printed in England since Caxton had translated, and in 1489 had printed, a French compilation, of the early fifteenth century, from classical and medieval military authorities, *The Book of the Faytes of Armes and Chyualrie* by Christine de Pisan. This had been the first military book to be printed in England. However from 1560 the number of printed military books had increased. One, on the treatment of gunshot wounds, had been published in 1563, and the 1570's, which saw English troops fighting once again on the continent, had brought forth a dozen.(11) After the outbreak of hostilities numbers were published each year. In 1585 the most recent book had appeared in 1583, and what was probably the most influential, Thomas Digges's *Stratioticos*, in 1579. So there had been plenty of time in which to study these works that taught "both warely to inuente newe polycies, and wysely to use the olde," to learn the art of "escaping al trappes, gynnes and imbushmentes," and of exploiting the advantages of "time and place" in order to show an enemy, once again, "how small force, ofte tymes worketh wonders."(12) How well they had been studied by Drake and his officers the Spaniards were to find to their cost.

Drake's first call was at the islands of Bayona and the port of Vigo in north-west Spain. He found the embargo on the English ships already lifted and so demanded, and after a show of force obtained, fresh provisions, and the release of some sailors still detained; he then completed watering. He succeeded in insulting the King of Spain with impunity in his own kingdom, in creating a military diversion in Spain, and in filling the Spanish naval and military commanders' minds with doubts as to his destination, though with none as to his intentions. For a few days the threat of a gale held Drake at Vigo; when he got out he found off Cape St. Vincent that the Spanish treasure fleets, due to arrive at San Lucar at this time of the year, had got safely to port, one as he left England, the second (for this year the treasure came in two fleets) as he left Vigo.

While Santa Cruz at Lisbon wrote for Philip an appreciation of the situation, forecasting the sacking of the Atlantic islands and then of either

10. Digges, T. *Stratioticos*, London, 1579.

11. Gale, T. *Treatise of wounds made with gonne shot*, London, 1563. The military training manual for the Spanish colonists in the New World was, presumably, the recently published work, *Dialogos Militares*, Mexico, 1583, entered in our List of Sources under Diego García de Palacio.

12. Morysine, R. *Stratagemes of Warre*, London, 1539.

the Pacific coast or of "S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra Firme unto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios," and the paralysis of seaborne trade in the Caribbean, for he had no illusions about the state of the Caribbean defences, while he advised the "dispatch of Caravels with all possible diligence" to warn the Indies, Drake pushed south. He would never again have such a chance to capture a treasure fleet. The first had sailed without an escort; both had been missed by the support groups sent out to see them safely in. In future, Santa Cruz laid down, none was ever to sail without an escort, and, in view of the damage wrought in two months by armed English merchantmen only, this was to be of double the established strength.

At the Canaries, Drake's attempt to land was frustrated by a combination of sea-swell and local defences. Touching at Cape Blanco on the African coast to get a supply of fresh fish, he chose as his next landfall Sant' Iago, in the Cape Verde Islands.

As soon as night fell on November 17th, 1200 troops were embarked in the pinnaces and landed under Drake's supervision, some nine miles short of the town. Here Carleill took command, formed the companies up, and, by a rapid forced march over exceedingly rough country, brought them at dawn to a position dominating the city walls. To seaward lay the fleet, at anchor save for the flagship. Drake was remaining under way in order to control operations. The forlorn hope that Carleill sent forward to test the city's defences found, no doubt with a mounting sense of relief, that the whole place was deserted. Sant' Iago had been surprised and sacked by the French and Portuguese forces of Don Antonio three years before: this time the inhabitants were taking no chances.

For fourteen days the English occupied the city, Drake taking the opportunity, while attempting unsuccessfully to open negotiations for its ransom, to promulgate the disciplinary code and administer the oath of allegiance to the Queen—routine measures that the hasty departure from Plymouth and the rough weather at Vigo, had deferred. Digges had detailed the whole procedure six years before in his *Stratioticos*.

After gathering what loot there was to be found (and its richness, quality, and variety were clearly a revelation to most of the Englishmen) they set sail for the Indies, carrying away with them all the bells, cannon, powder and shot they could find, and committing Sant' Iago and the nearby village of Praya to the flames. Misfortune, of which Greepe says nothing, now struck them. Of the buildings in Sant' Iago only one had been spared, the well-ordered hospital with twenty negroes in it "lying of very foul and frightful diseases." A week out from the Cape Verdes pestilence smote the fleet. In the next twelve days, before the

Antilles were reached, between 200 and 300 men died. From henceforth the crews were never free of sickness.

The fleet made its landfall on Guadeloupe, passed on to Dominica, where some bartering with the savage Caribs was done, and then to St. Christopher's, where the ships were watered, cleansed, and aired; and where Drake held a council of war. As men were still dying, it was decided to attack the nearest objective with the least delay. Thus San Domingo was selected, a choice made the easier by the 'allure of its glorious fame.'(13) The city was the oldest, and in appearance probably the most imposing in Spanish America.

On Christmas Day the fleet weighed and set sail. Now fortune favoured Drake. Frobisher sighted two small frigates, pursued, and captured them. Upon examination they proved to be the very vessels despatched from Spain to warn San Domingo and New Spain of the probable arrival of Drake's fleet. San Domingo, then, might well be surprised.(14)

San Domingo, founded ninety years previously, had been the first seat of government in the Spanish Indies; to many, including, it would seem, Drake himself, it still represented the embodiment of Spanish Imperial wealth as well as of prestige. Drake hoped that its capture would yield at least half a million ducats.(15) But the high day of wealth had departed from the island of Hispaniola. Sugar and hides there were in plenty. San Domingo, however, was the only city—the only town—in the island; besides its 500 or so houses of stone there were no more than half a dozen thatched villages. The gold workings had long ceased to yield. San Domingo was, it is true, the commercial centre of the Antilles, but the treasure of the Indies was assembled at Havana at the north-west extremity of Cuba for the final voyage to Spain. In the whole of Hispaniola, whites, Indian half-breeds, and mulattoes numbered about 2,000. With a negro population of 25,000 they lived in constant apprehension of either a negro rising or the descent of French corsairs. Nevertheless San Domingo still had an aura of wealth. It was the judicial, religious and administrative capital of the Indies. Its merchants and officials lived in sumptuously furnished mansions, enriched by the porcelains and silks of China, fine linens from England and Holland, panelled work, and costly hangings. A cathedral, three monasteries, and two nunneries, a government warehouse and an official residence of the judges of the *Audiencia*

13. Bigges, W. *A Summarie and Trve Discovrse*, London, 1589.
14. Wright, I. A. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America*. Doc. No. 30. (Enclosure)
15. Corbett, J. S. *The Spanish War*. Lands MS. 100, Fo. 98.

added to the general air and appearance of substance, though to the keen observer there were signs of decay that cast doubts about the underlying wealth. From the sea the city looked impressive. Licentiate Christóbal de Ovalle, the President of the *Audiencia*, Governor and Captain-General of the island, reported, when he first arrived to take over his offices in July, 1583, that he saw the fort of San Domingo rising out of the sea "as one of the strongest in Christendom," and upon inspection he found it "in strength comparable to many in Spain."(16)

The city was sited on an open roadstead on the south-east coast of Hispaniola, with an inner harbour on its eastern side formed by the debouchment of the River Ozama and the bar across its entrance. This was dominated by the fort, the artillery of which was trained on the waterline of ships seeking to enter the port. These defences Ovalle strengthened with a breastwork covering the river, together with a battery. A sentinel was maintained at the gateway to the fort, and a look-out posted at Point Causedo some eighteen miles to the eastward, to give warning of approaching shipping. On the landward sides neither the fort nor the city had any defences. Each, it is true, had a gateway; but of walls there was no more than a promise, offered merely by cactus hedges. From the gateway the road ran westward through thick bush to sugar plantations, cattle ranges, and the River Hayna, ten miles to the westward. Since its foundation the city had been considered impregnable, for the only practicable landing-place for many miles along the surf-ridden shore was deemed to be that under the guns of the fort in the Ozama River itself. Only an overwhelming frontal attack, it was thought, stood any chance of success. True, the gun-mountings were in poor state, the powder supply low, of poor quality, subject to rapid deterioration in the humid climate, and there was no regular garrison, nor any coast defence force. The natural defences however went far to redress these defects, although, of the two galleys based there in 1582, one had been wrecked, the other had become unseaworthy. The townsmen mustered three companies of 500 harquebusiers on foot, another company one hundred strong on horse, and a company of seamen. Men from neighbouring estates formed a sixth company. In all, there were about 800 men capable of being mustered to the repulse of invaders. Their weapons, however, and their training, left much to be desired. Rust, undetected by the constant care certainly *not* given by busy merchants, worried litigants, and haggling shopkeepers, ate into harquebus, sword, and pike. Neither corselets nor morions seem to have been generally available. Armourers and smiths for the repair and preparation of armour and weapons were non-existent. For all military stores, munitions, and weapons, the city was dependent upon supplies shipped

16. Wright, I. A. *op. cit.* Introduction.

out from Spain. Nevertheless Ovalle, little more than a year before, had assured the Crown that he feared nothing, even should "all France" assault the city.(17)

On Friday morning the 31st December, a fishing bark entered San Domingo harbour, bearing the news that it had seen a fleet, probably English, anchored the night before off Point Causedo. The alarm was at once raised; the townsmen mustered; the commander of the unseaworthy galley was ordered to sea in a small frigate to reconnoitre the fleet, while the galley itself was sunk on the harbour bar with other vessels, and its cannon trained to seaward. At sundown the frigate returned, confirming the news. That night, straining eyes saw through the tropic darkness small craft (pinnaces) passing the city in a westerly direction. As they were lost from view they vanished beyond the only possible, but unlikely point of landing which by now was guarded. When the sun rose on the first of January, 1586, the fleet, though not the small craft, was seen in the offing. At ten it was observed to tack towards the city's fore shore: it continued, however, inactive. About an hour later the defenders, whose attention was concentrated on the ships, were alarmed to see horsemen speeding from the bush beyond the city gates, and astounded to learn from them that an overwhelming English force of musketeers and pikemen was even then advancing in two columns towards the city, with drums beating and banners flying. Some two thousand troops, it was estimated, one third of them 'shot,' fully armed with morions and corselets, were bent upon assaulting the city, and within a matter of minutes. The panic that ensued was almost as complete as the surprise. Only a few of the worthy citizens thought of anything but the safety of their families and themselves. Most fled precipitately into the bush. The hardiest rode out to harass the advancing troops, or mustered at the gate, with a few cannon, to check the determination of the English approach and give the women and children time to escape by way of the river. This they did. But, as the English troops appeared in the open ground before the city gate, the ships off-shore opened up a barrage of cross-fire upon the defenders within and without, which was lifted only as the attacking troops, having deployed along the whole front of the city, broke into a charge, and poured, with the defenders, pell mell across the cactus bushes and into the streets and *plaza*, where Carleill and Powell, who had commanded the two columns, victoriously met. By five the standard of St. George fluttered above the towers and pinnacles of what had been considered the proudest city in Spain's vast overseas empire. The casualties had been

17. Wright, I. A. *op. cit.* Dec. No. 56. But Santa Cruz, it will be recalled, had no illusions about the Caribbean defences. The walls shown in Boazio's plan of the attack on the city are apocryphal.

three or four on either side. That night the remnant of the garrison in the fort slid down its walls into waiting boats, and ferried themselves to the other side of the river and to safety. It was a memorable New Year's gift for the English.

The pilot of one of the captured despatch boats had been a Greek. He had assured Drake, what Drake no doubt suspected, that, contrary to current belief, it was practicable to land men through the surf at the mouth of the Hayna River to the westward of the city. The plan, similar in principle to that adopted at Sant' Iago, had been worked out in detail when the fleet had anchored off Point Causedo. A thousand troops had been transferred to the pinnaces; and, under cover of darkness, led by Drake himself, the little force had run before the wind to the Hayna River, disembarked through the surf under Drake's supervision, formed up on shore under Carleill and Powell, and at once advanced towards the unsuspecting city. Drake himself had re-embarked to board the fleet, now drawn up off the city, in order to direct personally its diversionary and supporting fire. It was a masterly operation, a classic to any student of war. To Drake, if he recalled the conversation with Arundel, it must have given particular satisfaction.

The English remained at San Domingo a month. Of loot there was plenty, and they were entitled to it under the laws of war then generally observed. Of treasure there was little, and the ransom finally extorted disappointingly small—a mere 25,000 ducats instead of the million Drake at first demanded. But in Spain the news, received in March, of the capture of "that strong 'thing,' San Domingo," the "key to all the Indies," struck consternation amongst the Spanish merchants, and despondency amongst the authorities. On the other hand it lightened the load on the heart of many an Englishman when rumours of it reached home. More directly affected were the galley slaves who, released by the Spaniards to fight the English, joined them in the looting and burning and received their liberty. The departing English left behind them little save stone walls. Freed slaves, bells, guns, shot, powder were loaded into the ships. What they could not carry away they burned. San Domingo was an empty shell, defenceless.

Meanwhile the despatch boat sent from Spain to warn the Spanish Main that the fleet under Drake which had visited Vigo in truculent mood was probably destined for the Caribbean, had reached Cartagena, the capital of the Main, early in January. The Governor and Captain-General, Don Pedro Fernández de Buste, immediately transmitted the alarm to the municipal authorities and military officers in the city. The city council quickly decided to send the women, children, valuables, and merchandise into the interior for safety, to organise the citizens, and to recruit rein-

forcements of both foot and horse companies from outlying districts, to strengthen the fixed defences, and to issue, inspect, and, where necessary, manufacture weapons. Munitions were issued, and ordnance, of which there was plenty, skilfully mounted to cover the approaches to the city and its beaches. In all, about a thousand citizens were armed and drilled under the direction of Don Pedro Vique y Manrique, a veteran professional soldier in command of the two galleys and the frigate stationed on the port, and of the two captains of the galleys, these three being the only commissioned officers in the city.

Cartagena, looking north-west over the sea, stood upon the edge of a lagoon. Its position was naturally very strong. To the north-east lay swamps, crossed by a single road, with a bridge which joined the city to the firm land. Save at one point, the south-east and south-west sides of the city were washed by the waters of the inner harbour, which broadened out to the south-east to form the fleet anchorage. This in turn opened through the narrow Boqueron channel, only at high water passable into the Baya, or main lagoon, which had only one passage navigable by shipping leading to the sea. It lay between the enclosing Isla de Cares and a broad peninsula, extending from the south-west corner of the city, being at first but a narrow neck of land separating the inner harbour from the sea. The prevailing winds and currents made it necessary for ships wishing to enter the lagoon to pass close off-shore of the city from the north-westward, and to enter directly through the Boca Grande—the navigable channel. If the approach were misjudged the shipping got carried helplessly to leeward. At this time no defence works covered the Boca Grande, nor did any permanent fortifications safeguard the city, except for a small fort built on the south-east side of the Boqueron channel leading into the fleet anchorage, and so to the inner harbour and city wharves. Neither of the two galleys was in a very seaworthy state, but both were completely armed and provided with full complements of rowers—galley slaves—and soldiers to work the guns and small arms. Both lay in the inner harbour with the frigate. The defences now thrown up were admirably constructed. News of the fall of San Domingo, received at the end of January, together with the information that Cartagena was Drake's next objective, intensified the work on these. Possibly because of Drake's surprise landing up the coast at San Domingo, considerable effort was spent on defence works covering the swamps, since along the road through them lay the only possible approach from farther up the coast. Proposals to mount a battery at Hicacos Point on the peninsula, to harass an enemy attempting to enter the lagoon, were rejected. On the other hand, construction of a considerable masonry wall with a ditch was commenced across the Caleta, the narrow, cambered strip of

low land adjoining the city and dividing the inner harbour from the sea, which, after broadening out into the peninsula, ended at Hicacos Point. Here indeed lay the only practicable approach to Cartagena. The construction of the Caleta defences began at the shore of the inner harbour, and was carried over towards the sea-shore as each section of breastwork and ditch was completed. In early February there arrived in the city an eyewitness of the fall of San Domingo, whose graphic account of the disaster had a markedly depressive effect upon the loyal citizens of Cartagena. He led the authorities to believe that Drake's effective forces mustered 1,500 men, and that his fleet numbered thirty-four galleons. To maintain morale, it was decided that, in the event of attack, the galleys should remain in the inner harbour in sight of the citizens and close to the Caleta. They were, however, to be moored so that their cannon could enfilade an enemy advancing across the Caleta to the ditch and wall, which was still under construction. Suggestions that the galleys should operate in the Boca Grande to frustrate attempts to enter the lagoon were rejected, since there they would be out of sight of the citizens.

On the 9th February a despatch boat arrived from Spain, giving warning yet again of the "*corsario*" Drake's threatened activities, and also conveying assurance that a fleet was on its way to engage him. This latter information was false, for the fleet, despatched only in May, had stringent orders to confine itself to bringing the plate fleet safely home, and to attack Drake only if attacked.

At noon that same day, the 9th February, while the Governor was being handed the despatches, a mounted lookout galloped up to report that sails had been sighted to the northward. In the ensuing alarm the despatches were left lying on the table, where Governor de Busto cast them as he sprang to his feet. As the English ships passed within half a mile of the city, the culverins pointing to seaward were fired, and the Governor paraded his troops on the Caleta. There were some 450 Spaniards, 300 of them harquebusiers, the rest pikemen and horsemen. In addition there were the soldiers and crews of the galleys, Indians, and negroes. This martial array impressed the English, but Governor de Busto saw the troops only "as artisans and their apprentices and a few merchants," without "a soldier who was a real soldier" amongst them. By four, when the fleet had entered the lagoon and anchored, the Governor had decided that fewer ships had arrived than had been reported as assailing San Domingo, so he divided his troops. He sent half to guard the defences, covering a possible advance through the swamps by a force landed up the coast; a body of fifty men he put in the Boqueron fort; the remaining 200 or so shot and 100 pikemen he held at the Caleta. At dusk he sent a scouting party on horse to raise the alarm in the event of a landing at Hicacos

Point. A heavy chain was hauled across the Boqueron channel to bar the entrance to the fleet anchorage and inner harbour. At the same time a force of troops and Indians was sent up towards Hicacos Point to surprise the English, should they land and advance, by falling on their rear after they had passed the ambush. At about ten o'clock reports were received that the enemy was landing at Hicacos Point; however, scouts sent out to confirm this denied that the English showed any activity. Accordingly Don Pedro Vique decided to seize the initiative, and attack the unsuspecting fleet with the galleys. On embarking, however, he found the tide too low for the galleys to get over the bar in the Boqueron Channel. Evidently it had originally been intended that the soldiers from the galleys should man the seaward end of the Caleta defences. But these men were retained in their galleys while Don Pedro attempted his new plan, so troops from the eastern side of the city were withdrawn, and ordered to take over the seaward defence of Caleta. When they arrived under the command of Captain Alonso Bravo, they found, to their alarm and despondency, that they were to defend a twenty yard gap between the sea and the Caleta wall and ditch—the very spot that the English must assault to enter the city. The filling with sand with their hands only, in the dark and in feverish haste, of half a dozen hastily rolled up wine butts, did little to sweeten their tempers or to heighten their morale, particularly as those who had pikes had merely the shorter kind, well suited for defending the marshy eastern approaches, but not the best for stemming the rush of pikemen advancing over firm ground.

While these events took place, the Governor, exhausted by his martial efforts, lay sleeping in a hammock on the beach. However Captain Bravo's men soon expressed their dissatisfaction with their task by demanding, in no uncertain manner, the recall of Don Pedro Manrique, as the military expert, to remedy the situation. The night was pitch dark. A shot was fired to recall him. As he complied he ordered the galleys to their action stations dominating the Caleta. On arriving at the defences there he found the Governor mounted, cursing the ambush for having lost its nerve and fallen back before, the men declared, an advancing English force. Horsemen sent out to confirm or refute their assertions now hastened back with the flickering match of advancing shot hard on their heels. Those defenders who, under cover of darkness had not retired to the inns for refreshment with wine or sleep, confident, like the Governor and Don Pedro, that the English would wait till daylight in order to present a formal summons and commence siege operations, now hastily manned their positions. In the breathless pause before the attack, firing was now heard at the Boqueron channel. It was three o'clock and the night so dark that a man could not recognise his fellow. When they

thought, by the flicker of their match, that the English were in line, the galleys opened fire. In the glare of the artillery the Caleta defenders now, for the first time, saw the enemy, and with haste fired their guns. But it was only the forlorn hope, led by Carleill; it was making for the gap held by Captain Bravo's men. With a great shout of "St. George" this English company emptied its muskets, and, while the Spaniards were still groping to re-load their pieces, charged with long levelled pikes and swinging swords, bowling over the barrels and mingling with the defenders. Their impetus carried the English through, and the main battle, doubling forward, flooded through the gap, unharmed by the galleys' cannon fire which, because of the camber of the land, passed overhead. Over the clash of weapons and stamp of feet and invocation of saints the cry went up in Spanish, "Retire, gentlemen, for we are lost"; and the remaining citizen defenders turned and fled, stumbling in and out of the inner defences, inextricably intermingled with their adversaries, and thinking only of saving themselves from death or wounds. The rout was complete. But in the darkness, since neither friend nor foe could be distinguished, few casualties were inflicted on either side, and the Spaniards, knowing the lie of the land and spurred by fear, ran and fell into and out of the defensive ditches, obstructing the way faster than the English. Within a few minutes all Cartagena was Drake's. In the meantime Don Pedro had ordered the galleys to get clear, but in the confusion a barrel of powder was upset in one, which caught fire. In the ensuing panic all discipline was lost. The crews mutinied, the galleys ran ashore, the slaves were released, and, fleeing into the countryside, escaped to add their acts of violence to the general confusion.(18)

On leaving San Domingo, Drake had crossed the Caribbean to Cape la Vela, and anchored off Rio de la Hacha in the hope of getting pearls and a guide or pilot for his intended attack on Cartagena. Neither was obtainable. However, he had a plan of the city, and he had reconnoitred it ten years before. His passage close past the Caleta as he made for Boca Grande must have indicated that an advance along the sea shore to the Caleta offered the best—indeed the only—chance of success. He had landed about 600 men under Carleill's leadership at ten that night, determined to give the enemy no chance to gauge his strength, no time to complete the Caleta defences, and the least opportunity to make use of their advantage of artillery, for at night re-loading was a slow business. Frobisher he sent off with the pinnaces to attack the Boqueron fort and thus cause a diversion; it was too much to expect that no boom had been drawn across the channel. Carleill's determined leadership had done the rest.

18. Wright, I. A. *op. cit.* contains numerous Spanish documents on the action

Negotiations to ransom the city were quickly opened, Drake demanding half a million gold ducats and being offered 25,000. His temper was not improved by finding himself referred to as 'that *corsario*' in the royal despatches from Spain found lying on the Governor's table. The Spaniards protracted the negotiations in the hope of the promised punitive fleet arriving from Spain; Drake riposted by systematically razing and burning the dwelling-houses, in the course of which operation the discharge of a cannon accidentally demolished a part of the Cathedral. Eventually 107,000 ducats were paid over for the city, and further sums were paid for a farm and the Franciscan monastery outside the city walls, for the furnishings etc. returned, and for the prisoners, including Captain Bravo, captured and wounded in the fight at the Caleta after a fierce combat in which his Ensign was slain by Carleill. All the cannon and powder (all there was in the region) Drake stowed aboard his fleet. The Boqueron fort he demolished; at the end of March he set sail for England. Like Sant' Iago and San Domingo, Cartagena was left a gutted and defenceless shell.

The decision to sail for home had not been easy. The ransoms extracted and the loot obtained had fallen far short of expectations; the Panama scheme had many adherents. Some hoped to hold Cartagena, others to attack Havana, a heavily fortified and garrisoned port. But the fleet was at the limit of its endurance, sickness was still rife, and Drake was apprehensive of the possibility of a Spanish attempt to invade England.

The return voyage was troublesome. At the Cayman Islands the fleet took in water, but at Cape St. Anthony, the western point of Cuba, which they had to round in order to get the wind and current to take them out of the Caribbean, they found little, and then only after returning there in desperation, to dig pits in the marshy ground, under Drake's personal leadership and example.

After clearing the Florida Strait Drake coasted until he found St. Augustine, one of the two fortified outposts the Spaniards had established on the Florida coast, as bases to protect the Florida Channel, used by all shipping homeward bound. Drake's forces made short work of St. Augustine, landing cannon to speed up its destruction. They carried away the cannon and powder found, ruined the dwellings and cultivations, refreshed their men, watered, and, calling at Roanoke where Ralph Lane was attempting to establish for Raleigh the first English colony in North America, Virginia, took the colonists off at their request. After a month's passage Drake reached Portsmouth at the end of July to be greeted (so Greepe alone tells us) by Court and City, and to be entertained and fêted with his captains when London was reached.

The subscribers to the expedition eventually received 15/– in the

pound; and the Privy Council formally noted that it had not been "so good [a] successe as was hoped for." Indeed, though for the time Philip's credit was severely shaken, Spain's material capacity for war was unimpaired. It was the daring of the deed, rather than the damage inflicted that impressed men. The first news of it, Parma reported, had caused the Flemish capitalists financing his army 'to draw their purse strings very tight,' and 'the most contemplative of them to ponder much.'

The effect of the raid on the Indies was to transform them. Hitherto —except for Havana—they had been defenceless. Within three years of Drake's return, great fortresses, designed by military engineers despatched in his wake, and before news of his depredations had reached Spain, had begun to arise at all the key ports.

At the same time as the bases were secured, their system of sea-borne supply, together with that of the sea-borne Spanish commerce and treasure which they served, was reorganised. The convoy escorts were strengthened, the intelligence system was improved, and from 1588 the treasure was carried home in light, weatherly, armed ships, fast enough to outsail all *corsarios*. The Indies became invincible, their treasure unattainable. Ten years after his victories in the Caribbean Drake was to be defeated by the defences he had caused to be erected. In the hour of his triumph he had sown the seeds of his death. In this way Don Pedro Menéndez Marquez, Admiral, and one-time Governor of Florida, whom Drake had discomfited at St. Augustine, had his revenge. But these, it may be protested, are negative results. Surely there were positive gains! Wherever Drake struck he was victorious. Did no good thing come of this as advantageous militarily to the English in the long run as the strengthening of the Caribbean defences was to the Spaniards? The answer is, Yes; out of this Expedition did indeed come for the English something of inestimable and of lasting worth; but they reaped it in the spirit rather than in the flesh. Much had been hoped for—the capture of a treasure fleet, vast ransoms, the seizure of the western store-house of Spain's wealth, the sapping of the Spanish war effort in Europe, the enforcement of peace—all these out of this attack upon Spain's vulnerable sources of supply. But this new strategy of massive attacks at points remote from the field of immediate military operations, had singularly failed to have the decisive effect confidently predicted for it by the new school of naval commanders ungrounded in military strategy. Even Spain's invasion plans were not significantly affected (how different were the effects of the Cadiz raid and blockade of the actual ships gathering for the Armada in 1587, when the blow was struck at the nodal point—at that time—of the war!) Well might the Privy Council, in 1586, record that in their opinion the Caribbean Expedition had not

been so good a success as 'had been hoped for.' Nevertheless Greepe and the Nation were instinctively right to greet the return of the Expedition with triumph, for, to paraphrase Greepe, 'now might Englishmen see what would come to pass if they did but bend their whole force against an enemy set upon laying the envious hand of war upon so prosperous and flourishing a commonwealth as England, wherein men enjoyed peace, wealth, and tranquillity more abundantly than any other Nation under the sun at that time. Englishmen had pitted their seemingly puny strength against the forces of the greatest monarch on earth, who was strong enough to wage war against all the world united,' and had acquitted themselves like men. The realisation of this had been borne in upon them at the very time that the first chilling rumours had begun to creep about of preparations in Spain for 'a great army for England.' For it was then that Drake had come hot foot from the Caribbean bearing glad tidings of proud Spaniards brought low. The bubble of Spanish invincibility had been pricked—and by an Englishman! Now, in the hour of growing danger Englishmen saw that they had modern captains able 'both warily to invent new policies and wisely to use the old,' and able, moreover, to prove Richard Morysine's contention that 'wit with small force, oft times worketh wonders, where exceeding great strength cannot avail.' In faith, and in no vaunting spirit, they could cry:

> "Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true."

INTRODUCTION III

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THREE LETTERS CONCERNING THE CADIZ EXPEDITION OF 1587

FROM KING PHILIP TO BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA
Aranjuez, 13th May, 1587. (*Span. Cal. No. 86, p. 83.*)

"YOUR . . . later letters brought correct information, if only they had arrived somewhat earlier. They (the English) were, however, too quick, . . . (their force) had entered into the port of Cadiz as you said it might do, on the same day as, or a little before, your intelligence reached here. The damage it committed there was not great, but the daring of the attempt was so."

FROM HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, *Venetian Ambassador in Spain,*
TO THE DOGE AND SENATE
Madrid, 6th May, 1587 (N.S.) (*Ven. Cal. VIII, No. 510, p. 272.*)

". . . The King and his Council fear lest as Drake is master of the sea, and as they cannot at once send out a fleet strong enough to fight him, or even to keep him in check, he will have easy facility for working havoc on the coast, for preventing the junction of the squadrons of Seville and Biscay with that which is lying at Lisbon; and for harassing the galleys that are coming from Italy. He will also be able to keep an eye on the movements in Portugal, and can go to the Azores to await the Peruvian fleet . . . There are many other remarks current, such as that this woman has shown the world how they can strike at the Spaniard in Flanders, in the Indies, and in his own house; and that these injuries inflicted by Drake will raise many considerations in the minds of other Princes, and also of the King's own subjects."

From Haslop, H. *Newes out of the Coast of Spaine,*
London, 1587.

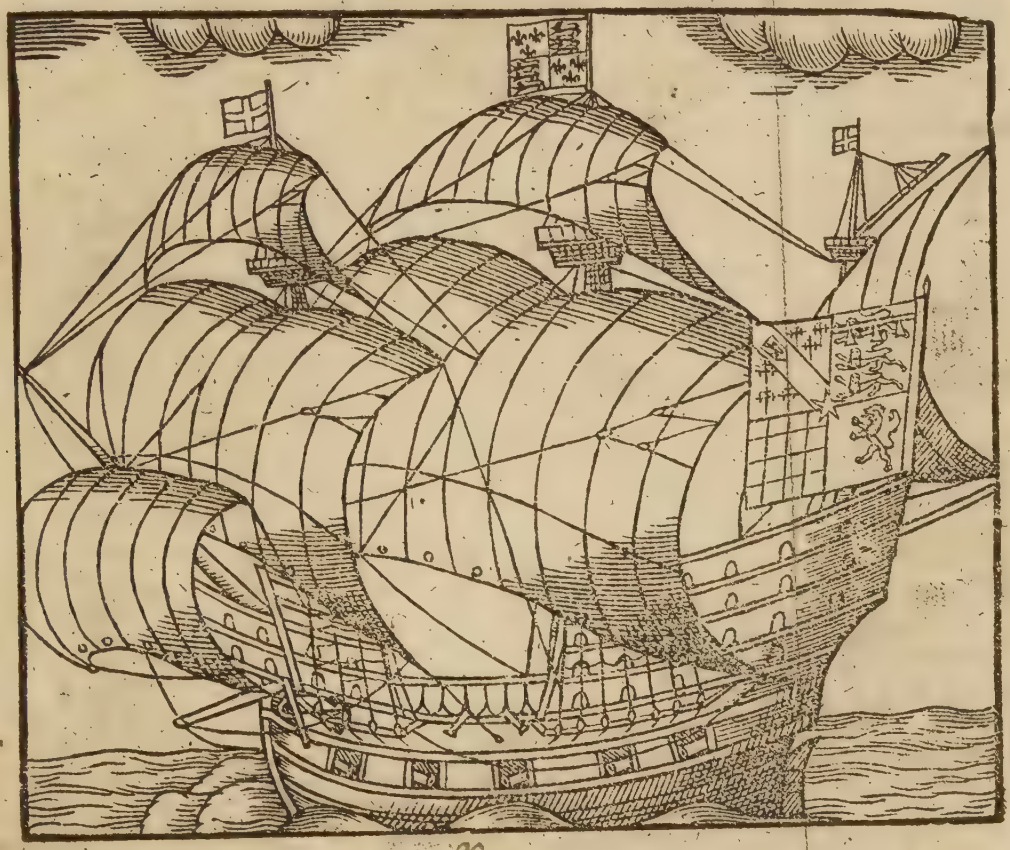
". . . So hath this memorable man Sir Frauncis Drake done; hee hath studied to withstand his countries enimies, labored to enrich us by their impouerishment, and made us strong by their weakening: his first attempt was concluded with a golden purchase, his second ended with no lesse honour, and his last actions obserue but his order, and then can you not but confesse it is full of honour."

FACSIMILE

The true and perfecte

Newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant Knight Syr *Frauncis Drake*: Not onely at *Sancto Domingo*, and *Carthagena*, but also nowe at *Cales*, and vppon the Coast of *Spayne*.

1587.



Printed at London by I. Charlewood, for Thomas Hackett.

To the Right Honourable and hys ſinguler good Lord, George Clifford, Earle of Cumberland: Thomas Greepe wyſheth long life, encreaſe of honor, with happy and eternall felicitie.

RIght Honorable, reuerentlie regarding your moſt worthie & condigne fame, together with your moſt rare vertues, and finding ſuch correſpondence in both, as ſeemeth inſeperable, I coulde not chuſe but in all humilitie to offer to the handes of ſo noble a perſonne, (beeing a louer of all vertuous attempts) this rude vnpullished worke, more true in effect then fine in forme, and better for example (though rudelie written) then to be obſcured, if penned by the beſt. The worke is a true breefe diſcourſe of the moſt rare and worthy exploytes, performed by the right worshipfull Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, and his conſortes in the fortunate Iſles, which although the trueth thereof be not vnknowne to your Honor, yet the vulgar ſorte of people in the Realme hauing heard, and yet wanting the veritie of the ſame, may by this pamphlet be the better aduertiſed. The which by howe much the playner it is written by mee, the better it is to be vnderſtoode

of the ſimpleſt, who in this caſe I ſeeke moſt to pleaſe, beeing my ſelfe a rude Countriman, brought vppe manie yeeres in Husbandrie, and more knowledge in Culturing of lande, then in deſcriptions of conqueſtes of Countries: Notwithſtanding, weighing your honourable Lordships affabilitie & courteſie in nature, to take well in worth the meaneſt thinges (extending to the encouragement of vertue & valor, vvhereof you are patron) I preſume the more to preſſe your Honour, to vouchſafe the acceptation and patroniſing of this ſmall work of ſo great worth, in reſpect of the honourable action of ſo vvorthie men. Vvho neither number could daunt, nor force of vvall and shot keepe out, whereby it may be ſeene vnto the vvorlde, that God vvhich hath alvvayes defended his ſeruaunts in former ages, hath not let to shevv a miracle by theſe in our latter dayes. And ſo humbly craving pardon of your honor for this preſumption miniſtred, I reſt a continuall beſeecher of the almightie for your Lordships moſt happy health vvith increaſe of honor in this life, and in the other euerlaſting felicitie. Amen.

Your Honors for euer
at commaundement in
the Lorde, Thomas
Greepe.

To the Reader.

Here haſt thou gentle Reader ſet forth vnto thee, the moſt woorthy and valiant exploytes and enterpryſes, lately atchiued and doone by that valiant Knight, Syr Frauncis Drake & others, not pend in lofty verſe, nor curiouſly handled, but playnely and truely, ſo that it may be well vnderſtood of the Reader, for there is nothing can more profitte thy poſteritie heereafter, then the leauing in memory ſo worthy a thing, for how ſhoulde we know the woorthy deedes of our Elders, if thoſe learned Poets and Hiſtoriographers had not ſette them downe in wryting, as Ioſephus for the ſtate of the Iewes: Homer and Euripides for the Grecians: Titus Liuius for the Romaines: Quintus Curtius for the life of Alexander the great, and ſo of all others. At what time heretofore was there euer any Engliſh manne that did the like. as well for hys Nauigation and long trauell, and GOD bee prayſed for hys good ſucceſſe, to the greate terror and feare of the enemie, he beeing a man of meane calling, to deale with ſo mightie a Monarke.

But nowe may the enemie ſee what woulde come to paſſe, if our gracious Queene woulde bende her whole force againſt them, therfore great cauſe haue we to be thankfull to God for ſo gracious a Princeſſe, and ſo proſperous and flouriſhing a common welth as this is, wherein we enioy, peace, welth, and tranquillitie, more aboundantly then any other Nation vnder the Sunne at this day. The Lorde long continue it for his names ſake, and thus I ende, bydding thee farewell in the Lorde.

(*)

The

The true and perfect Newes of the worthy and valiant *exployts atchiued and doone by* that valiaunt Knight, Syr Frauncis Drake.

TRyumph O England and reioyce,
And prayse thy God vncessantly
For thys thy Queene that pearle of choyse
Which God doth blesse with victory.
In Countryes straunge both farre and neere,
All raging foes her force doth feare.

Yée worthy wights that do delighte,
To heare of Nouels straunge and rare,
What valors woone by a famous knight
May please you marke I shall declare.
Such rare exployts performde and doone
As none the like hath euer woone.

First call to minde howe Gedeon, *Iosua*
But with thrée hundred fighting men *cap. 3.*
The Medians hoste he ouercame
A thousand to eche one of them.
He did suppresse Idolatry
The Lord gaue him the victory.

So likewise by Gods mighty hande
Syr Frauncis Drake by dreadfull swords
Did foyle hys foes in forraine lande,
Which did contemne Christes holy word.
And many Captiues did sette frée
Which earst were long in misery.

Twenty fiue Ships were then prepard,
Fifteene Pinnaſſes braue and fine
Well furniſhed for his ſafegard
Preuenting foes that would him tyne.
With Maſters good and Mariners yare
As euer tooke charge I dare compare.

The beſt Nauigators in this lande
Conferde with him vnto thys ende.
By thys famous knight to vnderſtand
Theyr valors to atchieue and wende
In Countryes ſtraunge beyond the ſea,
If God permit who can ſay nay.

The Bonauenture a ſhyp royall
Cheefe Admirall then of the fleete
Sir Frauncis Drake chiefe Generall
As by deſertes he was moſt meete.
Moſt worthy Captaynes of hand and hart
In thys boon voyage then tooke hys part.

The Primroſe next, Vize-Admirall
Appointed by theyr beſt deuiſe
Captayne Frobiſher Vize Generall
A valiant Captayne ware and wyſe.
Captayne Carelell they did ordayne,
Lieftenant Generall on the mayne.

The Ayde a royall ſhyppe and hotte
The Gallien wyll conuict her foes,
The Sea-Dragon ſhe ſpares no ſhott
The Talbott barkes where ere ſhe goes.
The Whyte Lyon her foes wyll ſmart
And all the reſt wyll take her part.

At

At Plimmouth they remayned a ſpace,
Till all their Ships were furniſhed:
Their gouernment, good fame and grace,
Throughout the Realme is publiſhed.
Their ſayles diſplaide the Seas t'atchiue.
September, Anno eighty fyue.

Before which month was fully done,
At Bayon firſt they did ariue:
The Towne perforce they might haue wonne,
But they pretended not to ſtriue,
By Parlée then they did agrée:
The Generall vſed them courteouſly.

The men of Vigo in raging ire,
Then made great bragges them to moleſt:
Yet in the ende at theyr deſire,
He graunted them theyr owne requeſt.
For he was loth theſe Townes to inuade:
For hindring of our Marchants trade.

Then ſetting ſayle from thence in haſt,
To the Canaries ſwift they flye:
Three hundred Leagues by count were paſt,
Ere they the Towne of Palme came nie.
Theſe proude Townesmen enuying theyr fleete,
Then ſhot at them in great deſpite.

Let not theſe Townesmen be to bolde,
I wiſh them not to bragge or vaunt:
Twas not theyr Gunnes nor force that could,
Once make our Engliſh harts to daunt.
If wynde and waues had not ſo wrought:
Full deerely they theyr pride had bought.

This famous fléete sayles on their way,
To Sancto Yuago they were bent:
Short of this Towne three leagues I say,
Twelue hundred men on shore were sent.
On November the seauentéene day,
With Captaines stoute to keepe the way.

Their noble Generall sayles about,
But all the fléete rode nére the Towne:
Most valiant Captaines with souldiours stoute,
Then marching forth through vale and downe.
To méete their Generall in the morne
As it was pointed earst beforne.

Their foes hauing intelligence
They were beset by sea and land:
They dare not proue experience,
The Drake by force for to withstand.
They fled that night and durst not stay
Preuenting so they? Enemies pray.

Then in the morne rathe as the sunne,
The towne they entred valiantly:
From place to place the Souldiours runne,
Séeking to finde commoditie.
Both coyne and plate some chaunst to find
Which they had hid and left behind.

Of victualles there they founde good store,
With wine and suger of the best:
Then quietly praise God therefore,
They made a worthy victors feast,
Their Walking robes of costly price
Our men for breeches did deuise.

Four

Foureteene dayes they kept this towne,
With honour, fame, and victory:
Their Idoll gods eche where puld downe,
With all their fond Idolatry.
With brasse Ordenaunce of good weight:
They ballast their ships which were light.

Two little townes in the same Ile,
Th'one Domingo, th'other Pray:
These men their Fryers did beguile
They left their Townes and ranne away.
The Fryers thought they would haue fought
To holde their Masse, as they them taught.

For they had promist them before
If that they would fight for their masse:
For all their sinnes they had in store,
They should be pardoned more and lesse.
But they so sore did feare the *Drake*
They let their Fryers stand to stake.

The Marriners this while prouide,
For victuals and fresh water store:
All thinges were brought aboorde that tyde
As their Maisters wild them before.
To Parlee then they did refuse,
Whereby they wrought their owne abuse:

The Generall minding to depart
Commaundes his men in hast aborde
Then lifting vp both handes and hart,
Most thankfully they praise the Lord.
For giuing them such victory:
Without bloodshed or ieoperdie.

A long course then from thence they runne,
Nine hundreth Leagues or they did stay:
To one straunge Ile at length they come,
Where sauadge people bare the sway.
Though wyld and nakte, yet nothing straunge:
Theyr trifles for riches faine would chaunge.

In fifty leagues sayling from thence,
Straunge Ilands more they did descry:
Then Hispaniola came in presence,
With Sancto Domingo presentlie.
The cheefe Citty for theyr behoue:
Where they their valor ment to prowe.

Their Generall then prudently,
Preuenting the perrill of his men:
The gaynest way for their safetie,
With discréete heads concluding then
One thousand men should marteh by land
With Captaines stout to guide their band.

Taking leaue of their Generall,
After the court'sey of merry England:
On Gods most holy name they call,
To strength them with his mightie hande.
They marteched forth then in their way
Their Generall sayles about by Sea.

When néere this Towne our men were séene
A troupe of Horsemen issued out:
And vaunted brauely on the gréene,
Minding to compasse them about.
Our fore winges helpe with their small shot:
Made them retire to saue theyr coate.

Theyr

Their Ordenaunce plaſt amid their gate,
Whereas they thought our men would venter:
Though daungerous, no way ſaue that,
So eaſie was for them to enter.
Their foes diſcharge a péce or twayne:
Yet as God would but two were ſlayne.

Courage, courage, our Captaines crie,
Good Souldiours now lets fight like men:
Then all at once ranne valiantly,
Their ſhot diſcharged, with weapons then,
They lay one loade on either ſide:
Though fiue to one yet durſt not bide.

Their Gunner priming of his péce,
Sawe them come running in a rage.
Let Linſtocke fall, away he flées,
And all the reſt as for a wage,
To ſaue theyr liues if it might bée:
Our Engliſh Souldiers made them flée.

Their Generall buſied all this while,
His ſhippes ancoring before the Towne:
His Gunners and theyr mates likewiſe,
With thundring ſhot then made them frowne.
They battered both at Towne and fort:
And in the fielde none dared to ſporte.

Then for theyr Ladies helpe they pray,
Miſerecordia how chaunceth this:
Our Fryars ſaid no Maſſe to day,
For want of leaſure they did miſſe.
Their Gods likewiſe they did deſire:
But Saint Domingo could not heare.

Then ſore afrayd they gan to trudge,
Some with fardle and ſome with packe:
Unto the Woods for their refuge,
To ſhroud themſelues they did not ſlacke.
The Generall landes without annoy:
His Captaines then met him with ioy.

They entred the Towne then valiantly,
And toke poſſeſſion of the ſame:
And ſpred their Enſignes triumphantly,
Great valours they atchiue by fame.
The towne wonne on Newyeres Day. Then trumpets ſound the Souldiours ſhift:
They prayſe God for their Newyéres gift.

Their enemies fled with ſuch great haſt,
They left their roſtmeate on the ſpit:
Hennes and Chickins well crombd and baſte,
Tables couered ready to ſitte.
Wine and ſuger they found good ſtore:
Their gueſts were come vnlooked for.

Their beds were made their Chambers dreſt,
The Curtines drawne braue and fine
Their parrell brught and finely preſt
Sir you ſhall chooſe but this is mine.
Some Jewels were hid in walles and cheſt,
Then ſome they found and ſome they miſt.

By good aduiſe and gouernment,
Thys towne one month they then poſſeſt
Their famous dames by Rulers ſent,
With coſtly preſents of the beſt
Praying the Generall courteouſly
He would vouchſafe ſpare their Citty.

The Marriners the while prouide,
For victuailes and fresh water sweete:
With other commodities beside,
Which was conuaide aboord the fleete.
Commaundement then was giuen straight way:
All men aborde without delay.

Then presently they sayled thence,
To one riche Iland they were bent:
But winde and storme turnd their pretence,
And other course then they inuent.
With Carthagena they set at last:
Where all their fleete their Anchors cast.

This towne was strong, well fenst about,
Foure hundred souldiours vnder pay:
Foure hundred Indians in a scoute,
Besides their townesmen in aray.
For they had newes the Drake would come:
And they thought sure to be his dome.

Their forte well mande and fortified,
Fiue Sconces wherein good Ordenaunce was:
Three Gallies then were amplified,
With fiftéene péeces of good Brasse.
Full little then they feared the *Drake*:
For they thought sure to make him quake.

One mischéefe more they do deuise,
Whereby they thought to spoyle our men:
Many poysoned prickes in sundry wise,
Amidst their way they fastened then.
To pricke their shinnes they did purpose:
But the Lord God did that disclose.

Nine hundred men were set one land,
And marching forth then all by night:
Untill they came vnto the strande,
Where prickes with poysoned heades were dight.
The water lowe as Gods will was:
Twixt strand and seas they safely passe.

Then in the morne before daylight,
They came full in theyr Enemies face:
Then all at once with force and might,
They ran vppon them in a race.
For all their force and thundring shot:
One of theyr Sconces sone they got.

As God shut vp the Lyons Jawes,
From noying his Prophet Daniell:
And eke preserued from tyrantes pawes,
The three children of Jsraell.
And saued them in the Duen so hotte:
So he conuayd away their shotte.

Our Captaines then most valiantly,
To courage their Souldiours for to fight:
Did ieoperd themselues then formostlie,
Which made their enemies dread their might.
Boldned souldiours, put foes to shame:
To winne their countrie honour and fame.

From Sconce to Sconce then they retyre,
Theyr lofty harts right sone were quailde:
They left their holdes and fled for feare,
Then with theyr heeles they best preuaile.
And as they fled straung newes they tell:
These be no men but fiendes of hell.

Their

Their Ordenaunce and artillerie,
Which in their holdes did then remaine
Our men atchiue with victory
The Towne like case they won certaine.
Their Enſignes then they did diſplay:
Upon theyr walles none durſt say nay.

The Souldiours then ſeeke for their pray,
Some for their bellyes likewiſe did care:
Though breakefaſt sharpe now care away,
Their dinners ſweete and wholeſome fare.
Bread and victuals they found good store:
With wine and liquor as erſt before.

They made a Bronte amidſt the Streete,
And plaſt great Ordenaunce in the ſame
To charge the watch when't came to night,
To daunt their foes their rage to tame.
Being ſhot of their thundring ſound:
So ſhoke theyr Church, the roſe fell downe.

This Towne alſo they kept a ſpace,
And eke the Fryery there beſide:
Theſe Townesmen then with humble grace,
Beſought the Generall at that tide.
To releaſe their towne he would be pleaſde
And they would gyue what he would haue.

All things prouided orderly,
And brought vnto the waters ſide
Munitions and artillerie,
Was all imbarked at that tide.
The Marriners without delay:
Theſe thinges abroade with ſpeede conuay.

The Generall with his company,
Then in a Frigat fitlie plaste:
And all his Souldiours in a route,
In Pinnasses with him then past.
The Castle which first did them annoy:
As they past by they did destroy.

Then when abord their shippes they come,
They were receyued ioyfully:
A peale of Gunnes with thundring sounc,
For one houre space euen pearst the skie.
Their Drumes stroke vp their Trumpets soũd
Their victories which do abound.

Their yardes a crosse hoyst at the toppe,
Their Anchors wayde then presently:
Their sayles displayd, their good ships loppe,
The Mariners standes their tackling by.
Eche Helme belayd with good respect:
As skilfull Maisters did directe.

Recording then their victories,
Which they had wonne by Gods great might:
And eke the sundry ieoperdies:
They had escaped day and night.
They yeld God thankes most hartely:
Both for his ayde and victory.

Then homeward as their course did lie,
At sundry Iles they put a shore:
Their former wantes for to supply,
With victuales and fresh water store.
At Florida they did ariue:
Saint Augustine for to atchiue.

These

Theſe townelmen truſting in their ſtrength,
Then fiercely ſet againſt the Drake:
Yet he and's men preuaile at length,
When they were faine theyr towne forſake,
Which when he had poſſeſt with fame:
Upon humble ſute releaſt the ſame.

This towne they wan moſt valiantly,
As they did all the reſt before:
The Lord was ſtill their victory,
Whoſe name be prayſed euermore.
And yéld to Drake his due and right:
Let fame extoll this noble knight.

His rare attempts performed and done,
With honour, fame and victory:
The like before who euer wonne,
That you can call to memorie.
Therefore I pray for Englandes ſake:
The Lord preſerue the noble *Drake.*

When ſiedge is layd to towne or forte,
And then the ſame béeyélded ſtraight:
The valour's then of ſmall report,
And the exploites of no great waight.
But where with force they bide the brunt:
Theyr conqueſtes are of great account.

Vliſſes with his Nauie great,
In ten yéares ſpace great valour wonne:
Yet all his time did no ſuch feate,
As *Drake* within one yére hath donne.
Both Turke and Pope and all our foes:
Do dread this Drake where ere he goes.

After he had ſuch valours wonne,
And ouercame the enemie:
To merry England he would returne,
The pleaſants land in Chriſtientie.
At portesmouth then by Gods good grace:
With all his fleete riude in thort ſpace.

When tidinges came vnto the Courte,
Sir Frauncis Drake was newe come home:
Her highnes hearing this report,
Her grace was glad that he was come.
And all her Lords with one accord
For hys ſafe returne prayſed the Lord.

To Portesmouth then there did reſort,
Right worſhipfull from Citty and towne:
This Knight to welcome to the porte,
With honor, fame and great renowne.
His valiant Captaines and gentles blode,
They welcomed home with ioyfull mode.

His entertainement at the Courte,
With his Captaines of worthy fame:
I nede not ſtand to make report,
Sith brute eche where hath ſpred the ſame.
Yet once againe for Englands ſake:
Pray God ſpede well the noble Drake.

His valiant minde, his ſecrete ſkill,
By flying Fame eche where is ſpred:
His loyall loue his mere good will,
To Quene and Realme both ſeene and read.
Sith God is dwer of the fame:
Let vs all prayſe his holy name.

Through

Through him he got great victories,
Through him he did his foes dismay:
Through him he scapt great ieoperdies,
And perrill both by Land and Sea.
Who hath preserued by his great might:
Our Queene and realme yeeres twenty eyght.

God saue our Queene of merry England,
His sacred word long to maintaine:
Her Graces Navie and royall bande,
Through his good grace may long remaine.
Lord blesse her counsell and keepe them aye:
With all true Subiects night and day.

Finis quoth Thomas Greepe.

To the right reuerende, godly learned Father, my very good freend, M. Iohn Fox, preacher of the word of GOD.

MAister Fox, whereas we haue had of late such happy successe against the Spanyardes, I do assure my selfe that you haue faithfully remembred vs in your good prayers, and therefore I haue not forgotten, briefely to make you partaker thereof. The 19. of Aprill wee arriued within the Rode of Calles where we found very many shipping, but amongst the reste 32. of exceeding burden, lade, and to be laden with prouision, & prepared to furnish the Kinges Naule, intended with all spæde against England, the which when wee had bourded, and also furnished our seuerall Ships with prouision as wee thought sufficient, wee burnt: And although by the space of two dayes and two nights that wee continued there, we were stil endaungered, both with thundring shott from the Towne, and assailed with the roaring Cannons of twelue Gallyes: yet wee suncke two of them, and one greate Argosey, and still auoyded them with very small hurt, and so at our departure we brought away foure Ships of prouision, to the great terror of our enemies, and

and honor to our selues, as it may appeare by a most curteous Letter written vnto me with a Flagge of truce, by Duke Petro, Generall of the Gallyes. But where as it is most certayne, that the king doth not onely make spædy preparatiõ in Spayne, but likewise expected a verye great Fleete from the Straytes, and dyuers other places, that shold ioyne with his forces to inuade England: We purpose to sette apart all feare of daunger, and by Gods furtheraunce to procæde by all the good meanes we can deuise to preuent theyr comming, wherfore I shall desire you to continue faithfull in remembraunce of vs in your prayers, that our purpose may take that good effect, as God may be glorifyed, his Church, our Quæne and Country preserued, and these Enemies of the trueth vtterly vanquished, that we may haue continuall peace in Israel. Frõ abord her Maiesties good Ship the Elizabeth Bonauenture.

Your louing freende, and fayth-
full Sonne in Christ Iesus.
Frauncis Drake.

Our enemies are many, but our protector commaundeth the whole world, let vs all pray continually, and our Lorde Iesus will heare vs in good time mercifully.

Wrytten by the hands of M. Pynner. Frauncis Drake.

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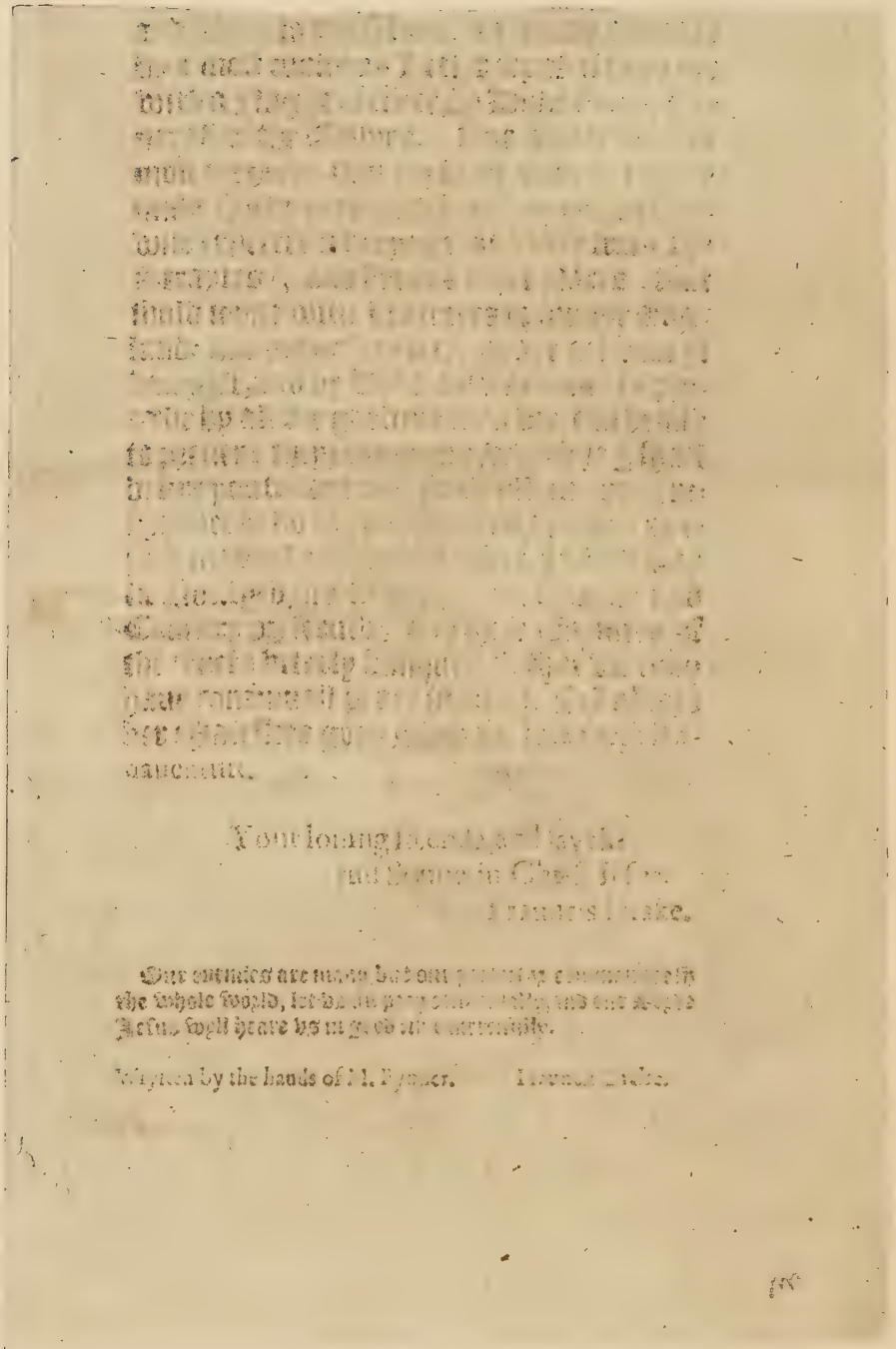


CHARTS AND PLANS

CHARTS AND PLANS

A DISCUSSION OF THE SUMMARIE AND TRUE DISCOURSE OF DRAKE'S EXPEDITION BY WALTER BIGGES TOGETHER WITH THE GENERAL CHART AND CITY PLANS OF BAPTISTA BOAZIO

Drake's expedition of 1585-1586 found its published prose record in Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage*, of London, 1589.(1) This account had been previously published in slightly condensed versions in both Latin and French at Leyden in 1588 with the respective titles, *Expeditio Francisci Draki eqvitis angli in Indias Occidentales A.M.D. LXXXV* and *Le Voyage de Messire François Drake Chevalier, aux Indes Occidentales l'An M.D. LXXXV*. Though issued later than the Latin and French versions, the English version is the master text from which all others derive. The MS. was largely the composition of Captain Walter Bigges, who commanded one of the companies of soldiers until his death after leaving Cartagena. Completed by his lieutenant, Master Croftes, or some other comrade, it was prepared for printing by one of Carleill's lieutenants, Thomas Cates, in 1587.(2) The Armada operations, however, delayed publication. In 1589 a German edition also appeared: *Relation Oder Beschreibūg der Rheisz: vnd schiffahrt ausz Engellandt / in die (gegen dem vndergang der Sonne gelegnen) Indien gethan / Durch Einen Englischen Ritter / Franciscum Drack . . . M.D. LXXXIX*. In this brief note we are con-

1. "The discourse and description of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Captain Frobisher." B.M. Royal MS. 7. C.XVI, f. 166, the only other prose account known, was not printed until 1899. See "Primrose Log" in our List of Sources.

2. Cates wrote his dedication to the Earl of Essex "a yeare and a halfe sithence the voyage ended." This would make the date of the dedication approximately January 28, 1587/1588. On November 26, 1588, the book was licensed for publication (as S.T.C. No. 3056 agrees) to William Ponsonby under the title: *The voyadge into the West Indyes made by Sir Frauncis Drake Knighte.* (Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, II, 508.) Between the two dates the Armada had come and gone with all the resulting disturbance.

cerned chiefly with the Latin and French editions of 1588 and the English of 1589, that is, the editions in which the narrative was first published and in which certain memorable city plans—and possibly a chart of the voyage—first appeared. A discussion of all ten known editions, issues, and versions of the narrative and of the several forms in which the chart and city plans were presented would extend unduly the scope of this note. It must, however, be observed that it may not be certain whether the German edition of 1589, with its descriptive map of the coasts of America and the nearest regions to them by Franz Hogenberg and its more finely executed city plans (by comparison with the English ones), was published before or after the English edition. The textual evidence, however, points to the German edition having been translated from the Latin rather than from the English. The English text, as already said, seems to have been in existence in 1587/1588. The textual order seems to be: English, the compressed Latin *Expeditio*, the compressed French, and the compressed German. The publication order is: Latin, French, followed either by the English or the German.

The versions of 1588 and 1589 in Latin, French, and English were intended to be accompanied by four engraved plans of the captured cities —Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine—designed, we are told, by Baptista Boazio, and, it has been hazarded, engraved by Jodocus Hondius. Two copies of the English edition, the Grenville and the Huth copies, respectively in the British Museum and the Huntington Library, also have bound with them Boazio's general chart of the expedition, *The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleete of 23 shippes and Barkes . . . in 1585 . . . 1586 . . . Newlie come forth by Baptista B.* Both these copies, it should be observed, are in modern bindings; we shall see later that it is not universally accepted that this general chart was intended to be published with the book.

An interesting feature of the four city plans and general chart by Boazio is the presence in the most esteemed copies of a strip pasted across the bottom of each print containing in either five or six columns a printed text descriptive of the action through which the city in question was captured by Drake, or, in the case of the general chart, a descriptive text covering the whole expedition. In many instances these pasted-on texts are lacking and, indeed, they may not always have been issued with the chart and plans. In a copy of the *Expeditio* of Leyden, 1588, containing the city plans with pasted-on texts, these texts are in Latin; in a similar copy of *A summarie and true Discourse*, of London, 1589, the pasted-on texts are in English. In the case of *Le Voyage de Messire François Drake*, of Leyden, 1588, the texts were printed in French for use on the city plans,

but no copy of the book is known with city plans and their correct texts. The Huntington Library has a copy of the book with the city plans but with English text pasted on. The British Museum, the New York Public Library, and the John Carter Brown Library, have copies of the book without the city plans in any form. The Free Library of Philadelphia (Elkins Collection) lacks the book but possesses on an undivided sheet the only known copy in French of the descriptive text prepared for the city plans.

The general chart, *The Famouse West Indian voyadge*, is usually found without the pasted-on printed text which is, in effect, a log of the whole expedition, but, as previously said, two copies so completed with English texts are known, namely, one of the two Grenville copies in the British Museum and what is presumably the Duke of Leeds copy in the John Carter Brown Library.(3) Copies of the English printed text alone, not attached to a chart, are found in the New York Public Library and the Society of Antiquaries, London. No copy is known of the text of this log of the voyage, printed to be pasted on the chart, in any language other than the English of the chart itself. A coloured reproduction of the chart without the text was made in 1952 by the Lakeside Press (R. R. Donnelley & Sons, Chicago, Illinois) from the original in the Newberry Library of Chicago. All five engravings were also reproduced by Corbett (1898) and by Miss Irene Wright (1951), in the latter case with transcriptions of the English texts alongside.

The chief argument against considering *The Famouse voyadge* chart as having been intended as a component of *A summarie and true Discourse* is negative in character. There were two issues of the first English edition of the book and one issue of a second edition, all of 1589. We follow the order of these suggested by the late Wilberforce Eames rather than that of the Huth and Church Catalogues. The chief points distinguishing the issues and editions are:

> 1st ed., 1st issue. Without the words "With Geographicall Mappes . . ." on the title-page and without the line of errata on page 52. No reference anywhere to a general map. Imprint of Richard Field, 1589.

3. There are two B.M. copies of the book, namely, G. 6509 (2nd Field Issue, 1589) and G. 6510 (1st Field Issue, 1589). Grenville's binder unfortunately bound the title-page and town plans of G. 6510 into G. 6509. The John Carter Brown copy of the chart with pasted-on text is almost certainly that described in 1888 by W. D. Macray in his calendar of the manuscript collections of the Duke of Leeds, Eleventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix, Part VII, p. 30. This is a separate map not bound in the Library's copy of the Bigges book.

1st ed., 2nd issue. With the words "With Geographicall Mappes . . ." on the title-page and with the line of errata on page 52. No reference anywhere to a general map. Imprint of Richard Field, 1589.

2nd ed. With the words "With Geographicall Mappes . . ." on the title-page, followed by the attribution of these city plans to Baptista Boazio. On the recto of its second leaf is "The Order and maner for the true placing of the Mappes in this Booke" in which the binder is instructed with respect to the four city plans only, with no reference to a general chart. Imprint of Roger Ward, 1589.

It is not improbable that the general chart of the expedition was published after the printing of the second, or Roger Ward, 1589, edition of Bigges's book. It was certainly not intended in any case for the Latin and French editions of 1588, for its legends and place names are in English. A third edition of the book with the words, "With Geographicall Mappes exactly describing each of the townes with their scituations, and the manner of the Armies approaching to the winning of them" was published by William Ponsonby in 1596. The only known copies (not in S.T.C.) are in the John Rylands Library and the Admiralty Library, Whitehall. Both are without the chart and city plans. This wording, like that of the second issue of the first edition and of the second edition seems to exclude the probability of the chart of the voyage having been issued as a part of the book in any of its editions. This deduction is given added weight by the omission in the second edition note referred to above of any instructions to the binder as to the order and placing of any chart other than the four city plans specified.

Furthermore, in the text pasted to the chart of the Voyage inserted in the Grenville copy will be observed, under the entry for "The 9. of February," the words "we . . . won their towne, as the book or discourse of that voyage doth more playnly declare, we remayned in thys Towne of Cartagena the space of 6 weekes." This may better support the view that book and chart were issued separately.

The Boazio chart of the voyage, with its text, may in fact have been issued as a broadside. The British Museum copy of the Bigges book, which alone contains the chart with text, is in a modern binding. As stated in the note above, the John Carter Brown copy of the chart with printed text is to-day separate, not bound in the book. Another hypothesis, not inconsistent with the broad-sheet theory, or with the known practice of Elizabethan booksellers, is that the general chart may have been sold with some (perhaps later) copies of the second Field issue. All this is discussed

in Professor D. Quinn's forthcoming *Roanoke Voyages*, to be published by the Hakluyt Society early in 1955.

Baptista Boazio seems to have been active in England as a chart and map-maker in the period 1586-1603. There is some extremely slight evidence, but no proof, that he accompanied the Drake expedition and drew the four city plans from first-hand observation.

In addition to the city plans and the general chart of the expedition, Boazio is remembered for a finely drawn map of Ireland engraved by Renold Elstrack and published in London, according to the late Edward Lynam, in 1599. He is known also for his map in manuscript of northern Ireland, for the chart of the attack upon Cadiz by the Earl of Essex in 1596, and for other manuscript maps which suggest his physical presence at the several places depicted in the period 1596-1599.(4) The few facts known of him and his work are scrutinized and interpreted by the late Edward Lynam in an article, "Boazio's Map of Ireland, *circa* 1600," pages 92-95 in *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2, London, 1937; also in his fuller account in *Geographical Journal*, C.XVI (1950), pages 22-25, reprinted in his *The Mapmakers' Art* (1952), pages 75-78. On the general subject of *A summarie and true Discourse* and its chart and city plans, see *The Huth Library*, II, 442-443; *Church Catalogue*, Nos. 134A, 136, and 138; John Carter Brown Library, *Annual Report*, 1939-1940, pages 58-60; same, 1942-1943, pages 8-18; and same, 1947-1948, pages 17-20. A comprehensive study of the subject was begun about 1935 by J. Clements Wheat and the late Randolph G. Adams. Regrettably, this was not completed, but the unedited and uncorrected manuscript of this broadly planned investigation is in the possession of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. As already remarked, Professor Quinn is also discussing the subject in his forthcoming *Roanoke Voyages*.

4. In *The Mapmakers' Art* (see below) Mr. Lynam successfully challenges this frequently made suggestion.

Though in all probability the Boazio general chart, *The Famouse West Indian voyadge*, is of slightly later date than the city plans, logic seems to require that it be placed first among the illustrations. The city plans are given in the order in which the cities concerned were visited and captured by the expeditionary forces.

Following the general chart and each of the city plans is a reprinting of the descriptive texts in English found pasted along the bottom edges of several known sets of the plans and of two known copies of the general chart. A translation of the Latin text in the cartouches of the city plans is appended to each descriptive text.

The chart and plans are here reproduced from the Christie Miller-Herschel Jones-John Carter Brown Library set which accompanies an example of Bigges's book in the second issue of the first edition. As the pasted-on texts make difficult reading because of the reduction, type transcriptions of them have been given to aid the student of this expedition and its achievements.

Sir Francis Drake knight Generall of the *whole Fleete of the West Indian voiage in* 1585.

SEPTEMBER.

The 14. of September departed out of the Roade of Plimmouth with 23. Ships and Barkes in all.

The 27 of September we entred in the Roade of Bayon.

The 30. of September our Lieferenant Generall Captayn Carleill went vp from the Roade of Bayon to the Riuer of Vigo with some Ships and Pinaces,

OCTOBER.

The 1. of October, all the rest of our Fleete came and ankred vp in the Riuer of Vigo from the Roade of Bayon.

The 7. of October we set sayl and departed out of the Riuer of Vigo and came to anker agayne at the Ilands or Roade of Bayon.

The 8. of October the winde came at North North West, and so we departed from the Roade of Bayon alongst some part of the Spanish coast.

The 24. of October in the morning, we fell with one of the Ilands of Cannana called Lancarotte.

NOVEMBER.

The 3. of Nouember we came within Cannon shot of Palma, being also one of the Ilands of Canaria where by reason of the great surge of the Sea we could by no meanes land our men, but were fayn within an howre after to depart from thence.

The 5. of Nouember we landed 700. men in Ferro, also one of the Ilands of Canaria, but seeing the commodity thereof would little auayl vs, we put to Sea in the same afternoone, the wynd at South South East, towards the coast of Barbary.

The 8. we descryde the coast of Barbary, and made our course towards cape Blanke.

The 11, we bare some what neere with the coast of Barbary, and so continued alongst the shore till our comming to Cape Blanke.

The 13. we fell with Cape Blanke, where putting into the Bay, we found certayn French men of Newhauen, we departed thence that day shaping our course towards the Ilands of Capo Verde.

The 16. of Nouember we descryde one of the Ilandes of Capo Verde called Bona Vista.

The 17. of Nouember we saw and fel with the Iland of Maye.

The 17. of Nouember we also recouered the Iland of Saint Iago, where we landed 1000. men, betweene the Town of Saint Iago and the Towne of Playe, vnder the chiefe charge of Captayne Carleill our Lieutenant Generall.

The 18, we entred and tooke the Towne of Santiago.

From the 18. of Nouember to the 29. of the same month, wee remayned in the Towne of Saint Iago.

The 29. of Nouember we departed from Saint Iago, putting ouer the great Ocean and making our course continually west ward for the west Indies.

DECEMBER.

The 28. of December we arriued to Guadalup, one of the Ilands of the west Indies, hauing made our passage ouer the Ocean in 19. dayes.

The 28. of December we came to the Dominica, an other Iland where we watred and refreshed vs with such things as the Saluadges of the Iland brought vnto vs.

The 29. of December we set sayle and departed thence towards another Iland lying to the Northward of Guadalup.

The 30, we descende two Ilands more, called Mangarote and Rounda.

The 31. we came to another Iland, called Saint Christophers, where we landed and refreshed our sicke men, for threeor foure dayes.

The 25 of December we departed thence, and set sayle West and by South.

The 27. of December being Munday, we descryde an Ilande called Santa Cruz.

The 28 we came to the sight of Saint Johns Iland.

The 29. we descende two small Ilands to the Westward of Saint Johns Iland called Mona Monica, which Ilands lye iust betweene the Iland Hispaniola, and Saint Johns Iland.

The 30, being Thursday we recouered the Iland Hispaniola.

IANVARIE.

The 1. of Ianuary we came to the bay of Saint Domingo, where we landed 1000. men on shore on the Westermost part of the Bay, 9. or 10. miles distant from the Towne of Saint Domingo, the same day (by Gods helpe) tooke and spoyled the Towne, vnder the conduction of Captayne Carleill our Lieutenant Generall. In this Towne we remayned the space of one moneth.

FEBRVARIE.

The 1. of February we departed out of the Bay of Saint Domingo, keeping our course South and South and by West.

The 5. of February we came to Cape la Vela, on the seme land of the West Indies, we thence sailed VVest and West South West.

The 6. of the same moneth we came before Rio de la Hacha, where we ankred all that night.

The 7. of February being Monday, in the morning we set sayle and went West North West to the sea. the Viceadmirall with hys Skiffe and other Pinaces, being gone to the shore side, to see if he could get any guyde of Cartagena, but could finde none.

The 9. of February we came to the sight of Cartagena, where we recouered and ankred in the harbour, and landed our men 4. or 5. miles to the Westward of the Towne, vnder the conduction of Captayn Carleill our Lieutenant Generall, our men marched close by the wash of the Sea, vntil our comming to the Towne, where we found the Enemy strongly fortified and wel prouided of Artillerye and small shot, that continually for the space of halfe an howre played vpon vs, (but by Gods prouidence) we won theyr fortresse and so presently entred and won their Town, as he book or discourse of that voyage doth more playnly declare, we remayned in thys Towne of Cartagena the space of 6. weekes.

MARCH.

The 24. of March we departed out of the harbour of Cartagena towards Cape Saint Antonie in the Iland Cuba.

APRILL.

The 20. of Aprill we fell with two Ilands called Caimanes, where we refreshed our selues with many Allagartas and greate Turtoises, being very vgly and fearefull beasts to behold, but were made good meate to eate, and so the next day we departed thence towards Cape Saint Antony.

The 27. of Aprill we came to Cape Saint Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where ankering but a while because fresh water could not be speedily found, and so departing thence within two howres after our arriual, we put to Sea alongst the coast of Cuba, and plying vp and downe with contrary winde, hoping still to recouer the Matanzes, a good harbour to the Eastward of the Hauana, with intent there to water our shippes at ease, we were in the ende after 14. dayes beating vp and downe, put downe to Cape Saint Antony againe, where the scarsetey of fresh water being growen some what greater with vs, we were fayn to take such water as we found in the Moonith ground, by making of pits, and out of them to take vppe the water that would gather together in them.

MAY.

The 13. of May we departed the second time from the Cape Saint Antony, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where, but kept the coast alongst.

The 28. of May early in the morning we descride the Riuer of Saint Augustine in Florida, in 30. degrees of Latitude, wher some small Spanish Garrison was planted, of some 150. men, or thereabouts: Here we spent two dayes in taking the fort and spoiling the Town, and so departed agayn keeping as nigh the shore as might be, to haue a sight first myght be of our English men planted in Virginia.

IVNE.

The 9. of Iune in comyng alongst the coast, we discouered some part of Virginia, and found some of our English men, and the next day spake wyth more of them, & so afterwards with them al.

The 18. of Iune we departed from the coast of Virginia, and so betweene Virginia and the first sight of England, we were in saylyng one whole moneth, or thereabouts.

IVLY.

The 22. of Iuly we fell in sight of the Sorlinges, or the Ilandes of Syly, being the westermost part of all England.

The 22. of Iuly 1586. God be thanked we arriued all in good safety at Portesmouth.

THE LOG OF THE EXPEDITION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE KNIGHT GENERALL OF THE WHOLE FLEETE OF THE WEST INDIAN VOYAGE IN 1585

SEPTEMBER

The 14. of September departed out of the Roade of Plimmouth with 23 Ships and Barkes in all.

The 27. of September we entred in the Roade of Bayon.

The 30. of September our Liefetenant Generall Captayn Carleill went vp from the Roade of Bayon to the Riuer Vigo with some Ships and Pinaces.

OCTOBER

The 1. of October, all the rest of our Fleete came and ankred vp in the Riuer of Vigo from the Roade of Bayon.

The 7. of October we set sayl and departed out of the Riuer of Vigo and came to anker agayne at the Ilands or Roade of Bayon.

The 11. of October the winde came at North North West, and so we departed from the Roade of Bayon alongst some part of the Spanish coast.

The 24. of October in the morning, we fell with one of the Ilands of Cannaria called Lançarotte.

NOVEMBER

The 3. of Nouember we came within Cannon shot of Palma, being also one of the Ilands of Canaria, where by reason of the greatsurge of the Sea we could by no meanes land our men, but were fayn within an howre after to depart from thence.

The 5. of Nouember we landed 700 men in Ferro, also one of the Ilands of Canaria, but seeing the commodity thereof woulde little auayl vs, we put to Sea in the same afternoone, the wynd at South South East, towards the coast of Barbary.

The 8. we descryde the coast of Barbary, and made our course towards cape Blanke.

The 11. we bore somewhat neere with the coast of Barbary, and so continued alongst the shore till our comming to Cape Blanke.

The 13. we fell with Cape Blanke, where putting into the Bay, we found certayn Frenchmen of Newhauen, we departed thence that day shaping our course towards the Ilands of Capo Verde.

The 16. of Nouember we descryde one of the Ilandes of Capo Verde called Bona Victa.

The 17. of Nouember we saw and fel with the Iland of Maye.

The 17. of Nouember we also recouered the Iland of Saint Iago, where we landed 1000. men, betweene the Town of Saint Iago and the Towne of Playe, vnder the chiefe charge of Captayne Carleill our Lieutenant Generall.

The 18. we entred and tooke the Towne of Santiago.

From the 18. of Nouember to the 29. of the same month, wee remayned in the Towne of Saint Iago.

The 29. of Nouember we departed from Saint Iago, putting ouer the great Ocean and making our course continually westward for the west Indies.

DECEMBER

The 18. of December we arrived to Guadalupe, one of the Ilands of the west Indies, hauing made our passage ouer the Ocean in 19 days.

The 18. of December we came to the Dominica, another Iland where we watred and refreshed vs with such things as the Saluadges of the Iland brought vnto vs.

The 19. of December we set sayle and departed thence towards another Iland lying to the Northward of Guadalupe.

The 20. we descride two Ilands more, called Mançarotte and Rotunda.

The 21. we came to another Iland, called Saint Christophers, where we landed and refreshed our sicke men, for three or foure dayes.

The 25. of December we departed thence, and set sayle West and by South.

The 27. of December being Munday, we descryde an Ilande called Sancta Crux.

The 28. we came to the sight of Saint Iohns Iland.

The 29. we descride two small Ilands to the Westward of Saint Iohns Iland called Mona Monica, which Ilands lye iust betweene the Iland Hispaniola, and Saint Iohns Iland.

The 30. being Thursday we recoiered the Iland Hispaniola.

IANVARIE

The 1. of Ianuary we came to the bay of Saint Domingo, wher we landed 1000 men on shore on the Westermost part of the Bay, 9 or 10 miles distant from the Towne of Saint Domingo, the same day our men (by Gods helpe) tooke and spoyled the Towne, vnder the conduction of Captayne Carleill our Lieutenant Generall. In this Towne we remayned the space of one moneth.

FEBRVARIE

The 1. of February we departed out of the Bay of Saint Domingo, keeping our course South and South and by West.

The 5. of February we came to Cape la Vela, on the firme land of the West Indies, we thence sailed West and West South West.

The 6. of the same moneth we came before Rio de la Hacha, where we ankred all that night.

The 7. of February being Monday, in the morning we set sayle and went West North West to the Sea, the Viccadmirall with hys Skiffe and other Pinaces, being gone to the shore side, to see if he coulde get any guyd of Cartagena, but could finde none.

The 9. of February we came to the sight of Cartagena, where we recouered and ankred in the harbour, and landed our men 4 or 5 miles to the Westward of the Towne, vnder the conduction of Captayn Carleill our Lieutenant Generall, our men marched close by the wash of the Sea, vntill our comming to the Towne, where we found the Enemy strongly fortified and wel prouided of Artillerye and small shot, that continually for the space of halfe an howre played vpon vs, (but by Gods prouidence) we won theyr fortresse and so presently entred and won their Towne, as the book or discourse of that voyage doth more playnly declare, we remayned in thys Towne of Cartagena the space of 6 weekes.

MARCH

The 26. of March we departed out of the harbour of Cartagena towards Cape Saint Antonie in the Iland Cuba.

APRILL

The 20. of Aprill we fell with two Ilands called Caimanes, where we refreshed our selves with many Allagartas and greate Turtoises, being very vgly and fearefull beasts to behold, but were made good meate to eate, and so the next day we departed thence towards Cape Saint Antony.

The 27. of Aprill we came to Cape Saint Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where ankering but a while because fresh water could not be speedily found, and so departing thence within two howrs after our arriual, we put to Sea alongst the coast of Cuba, and plying vp and downe with contrary winde, hoping still to recouer the Mattanças, a good harbour to the Eastward of the Hauana, with intent there to water our shippes at ease, we were in the ende after 14 dayes bearing vp and downe, put downe to Cape Saint Antony againe, where the scarsety of fresh water being growen somewhat greater with vs, we were fayn to take such water as we found in the Moorish ground, by making of pits, and out of them to take vppe the water that would gather together in them.

MAY

The 13. of May we departed the second time from the Cape Saint Antony, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where, but kept the coast alongst.

The 28. of May early in the morning we descride the Riuer of Saynt Augustine in Florida, in 36. degrees of Latitude, wher some small Spanish Garrison was planted, of some 150 men, or thereabouts: Here we spent two dayes in taking the fort and spoiling the Town, and so departed agayn keeping as nigh the shore as might be, to haue a sight if it myght be of our English men planted in Virginia.

IVNE

The 9. of Iune in cōmyng alongst the coast, we discouered some part of Virginia, and found some of our English men, and the next day spake wyth more of them, & so afterwards with them al.

The 18. of Iune we departed from the coast of Virginia, and so betweene Virginia and the first sight of England, we were in saylyng one whole moneth, or thereabouts.

IVLY

The 22. of Iuly we fell in sight of the Sorlinges, or the Ilandes of Sylly, being the westermost part of all England.

The 28. of Iuly 1586. God be thanked we arriued all in good safety at Portesmouth.

HOC OPIDVM divi Jacobi ro nomine quo insula vocat' et conversum habet cum Guynea et adiunctis regionibus Affricæ, vnde vareces in Lusitaniam deuehunt

INSVLA DIVI Jacobi est clarissima omniū quæ sunt in orā Affricæ ex aduerso Cap Viridi vnde hæc et reliquæ vicinæ insulæ Cap Viridis denominant' quāquam ab ipso Cap leucis plus minus absunt

SAINT IAGO

A The place where the whole Fleete first ankered.

B The [illegible] as shall seeme good vnto the Generall.

C The [illegible]

D A large plaine and [illegible] wherein the [illegible] marshalled in order of battell, and so marched toward the towne.

E A troope of shot sent before the vantgard to discouer.

F A troope of shot belonging to the vantgard, and was led a litle before the squadron of pikes of the vantguard.

G The [illegible] vantgard, which [illegible] with the troope of shot belonging vnto it consisted of three [illegible] men.

H Two troopes of shot which marched as the right wing or flanke of the vantgard.

I [illegible] wing or the left wing or flanke of the vantgard.

K [illegible] followed the pikes.

L [illegible] belonging vnto Barrell, and is the [illegible] and to take knowledge of any thing before.

M The second troope of shot being the greater belonging to the [illegible] the same.

N [illegible] vnto the battell.

O [illegible] marched the place of the battell with the troops of shot belonging vnto it, consisted of foure companies of one hundred and fiftie men to euerie ensigne.

P The first troop of pikes which made the vantgard, which with the troopes of shot thereunto belonging, consisted of three ensignes of Spaniards.

Q The troopes of shot belonging to the reregard.

R A place fortified without the towne of S. Iago by the which we entred the same beeing vppon an high hill or mountaine, and deffily ouerlooking all the towne, vnto the which towne from thence there lieth away by a stat sloping part of the hill which is towards the sea, the rest of the said towne lieth in a low bottome, verie betweene two hils, and the hils being chided on both sides of the said valley, which valley continueth vp a great way into the countrie, in the which valley dooth grow many pleasant fruites, which are watered at pleasure by meanes of a fine small cleare christall running water flowing out of the mountaines of the Island countrey.

S The valley aforesaid, where doe grow both many excellent hearbes, and fruites most delicate to eate as Cocos, Plantans, Oranges, Lemons, Sugercanes, and diuers others.

T The market place.

V The Church.

X The middle platfourme, standing to the sea ward, furnished with very good artillery.

Y The platforme on the west part of the towne, furnished in like sort.

Z The platfourme on the east part, well planted with great ordinance as the rest.

A A A place vppon the height of the mountaine standing on the west side of the valley, and was fortified as the other ouer against it, by the which we entered.

B B A little Chappell but seemely painted and [illegible] West [illegible]

C C The towne people being Portugals and flying from thence.

D D The way which we marched into the country towards the village called Saint Domingo, where it was saide the Bishop and gouernours were [illegible] vpon [illegible] they also fled from the [illegible]

E E The village [illegible] Domingo, [illegible] English miles, that is, six leagues or France distant from Saint Iago into the heart of the Island countrey.

F F The towne of Prayo standingly the sea side, which vpon our going away was burned with fire as the towne of Saint Iago was.

G G The portraicture of a flying fish, drawne verie like to the lyue fishes, whereof we saw great store, and had many by falling into the ships, for they flie not aboue ten or twelue score paces, and [illegible] into the sea againe, out of the which they rise and take their [illegible] commonly in flocks together when they bee hardly chased, and readie to be deuoured of the Dolphin and a fish called Bonito. This picture of the flying fish is well nigh as big as the liuing fish, which kind there hath not bene seene any in my knowledge to exceede double the length of this pictured fish.

SAINT IAGO

A The place where the whole Fleete first ankered.
B The place where the Pinnaces and Shipboates did set the souldiers on shore, which might be some fiue miles from the towne of S. Iago.
C The way which the army did passe ouer the mountaines.
D A large plaine and place where the army was martialled in order of battell, and so marched towardes the towne.
E A troupe of shot sent before the vantgard to discouer.
F A troupe of shot belonging to the vantgard, and was lead a little before the squadron of pikes of the said vantgard.
G The squadron of pikes which had the vantgard, which squadron with the troupes of shot belonging vnto it consisted of three companies.
H Two troupes of shot which marched as the right wing or flanke of the vantgard.
I Two troupes of shot marching on the left wing or flancke of the vantgard.
K A troupe of shot being also of the vantgard and followed the pikes.
L The first troupe of shot belonging to the battell, and is the lesser of the twaine that march before, appointed expresly to discouer and to take knowledge of any thing before.
M The seconde troupe of shot being the greater belonging to the maine battell, and marched next before the same.
N Troupes of shot belonging to the maine battell.
O The great squadron of pikes which caried the place of maine battell, which with the troups of shot belonging vnto it, consisted of foure companies of one hundred and fifty men to each ensigne.
P The squadron of pikes which made the riergard, which with the troupes of shot thereunto belonging, consisted of three enseignes or companies.
Q Troupes of shot belonging to the riergard.
R A place fortified without the towne of Saint Iago, by the which we entred the same being vpon a high hill or mountaine, and easily ouerlooking all the towne, vnto the which towne from thence there lieth a way by that sloping parte of the hill which is towards the sea, but the rest of the said towne lieth in a low bottome, a valley betweene two hils and the hils being cliffed on bothe sides of the said valley which valley continueth a great way vp into the country, in the which valley dooth grow many pleasaunt fruites, which are watered at pleasure by meanes of a small fine brooke of running water issuing out of the mountaines of the Island country.
S The valley aforesaid wherein do grow both many excellent hearbs and sundry most delicate fruites, as Dates, Cochus nuttes, Plantens, Orenges, Lemons, Sugarcanes and diuers others.
T The market place.
V The Church.

X The midleplatforme, standing to the sea warde furnished with very good artillery.

Y The platforme on the west part of the towne furnished in like sort.

Z The platforme on the East part well planted with great ordinance as the rest.

AA A place vpon the height of the mountaine standing on the west side of the valley, and was fortified as the other ouer against it by the which we entred.

BB A little Chappell that stoode on the point of land on the West side of Saint Iago.

CC The towne people being Portingals and flying from thence.

DD The way which we marched into the country towards the village called Saint Domingo, where it was said the Bishop and gouernours were fled, but vpon our approche thitherwardes, they also fled from thence before vs.

EE The village of Saint Domingo being twelue English miles, that is, six leagues of France distant from Saint Iago into the hart of the Island country.

FF The towne of Prayo standing by the sea side, which vpon our going away was burned with fire as the towne of Saint Iago was.

GG The purtraicture of a flying fish drawne very like to the liuing fish, wherof we saw great store, and had many by falling into the ships, for they fly not aboue ten or twelue score pases and to fall into the sea againe, out of the which they rise & take their flight cōmonly in flocks together when they be hardly chased, and euer ready to be deuoured of the Dolphin and a fish called Bonito. This picture of the flying fish is well nigh as big as the liuing fish, of which kind there hath not beene sene any in my knowledge to carry aboue double the lengh of this pictured fish.

Hoc Opidvm diui Jacobi eo nomine quo insula vocat^{r} et comercium habet cum Guynea et adiunctis regionibus Affricae, vnde merces in Lusitaniam deuehunt.

This town of St. James by which name the island is called, trades with Guinea and the adjoining territory of Africa, from whence they carried goods to the Western part of Spain (i.e., Portugal).

INSVLA DIVI Jacobi est clarissima omniū queo sunt in ora Affricae ex aduerso Cap. Virid vnde hec et reliquae vicinae insulae Cap Viridis denominant^{r} quāquam ab ipso Cap leucis plus mīus absunt.

The Island of Saint James is the most celebrated of all those islands which are along the sea-coast of Africa opposite Cape Verde. This and the other neighbouring islands were named Cape Verde Islands although they are many leagues distant from that Cape.

CIVITAS S Dominici sita in Hispaniola Indiæ Angliæ mag. vtudine fere æquals, ipsa vrbs elegantibus ab Hispanis extructa, et omnibus ornamentis instructa dat
NEC SPE NEC METV

SAINT DOMINGO.

A Fires made by the Spaniardes dwelling in the Countrey vpon sight of our ships, to giue notice into those of the towne.

B The place where our Pinnaces and Ship-boates landed our soul-diers which might be some ten miles from the citie of S. Domingo.

C A woody way which our armie marched along the country, to the citie of S. Domingo, the same being a better broad high way.

D A large plaine, an place where the armie was marualled into order of battell, and from thence forward to the citie.

E A troope of shot belonging to the Vantegard, and was lead a little before the foure iron ordinances of the said vantgard.

F A troope of shot belonging to the Vantegard, which was lead with the foure iron ordinances of the said vantgard.

G The squadron of pikes which led the vantgard, which squadron with the troopes of shot belonging vnto it, consisted of three companies.

H Two troopes of shot which marched as the right wing or flanke of the vantgard.

I Two troopes of shot marching as the lefewing or flanke of the vantgard.

K A troope of shot being also of the vantgard, & followed ỹ pikes.

L The first troope of shot belonging to the battell, and is the lesser of the twaine that march before, appointed expresly to discouer and to take knowledge of any thing before.

M The second troope of shot being the greater belonging to the maine battell and marched next before the battell.

N Troopes of pikes belonging to the maine battell.

O The great squadron of pikes which led the place of main battell, which was the troopes of shot belonging vnto our colledion, three companies of vs, & euen to each companie of them about.

P The squadron of pikes which made the rereward, with which the troopes of shot there vnto belonging, consisted of three signes or companies.

Q Troopes of shot belonging to the rereward.

R The gate where M. Carleil the Lieftenant Generall entred with his companies, where we placed and discharged against vs three peeces of ordinance.

S The gate where Captaine Powell entred with the vantguard.

T A great deuse of knobs & boxes in a huge in maner, which some-time had driuen vpons to put vs out of order, that these deuse mennie might the better abide vs.

V Two troopes of horsemen of the enemie, which sometime charged our vantgard, but were quickly made to retire.

X Two troopes of Spaniards which sometime we saw in sight.

Y A troope of horsemen of the enemie which lay in ambush, and watched the whole fight vpon vs hard by the gate where the Lieftenant Generall our selues troopes entred the citie pell mell.

Z The place where the whole Fleete anchered,

AA The Market place of the citie.

BB The great church being very finely built & sumptuously vaulted, which commanded all the harbour, as well to driue vs from the shore, as also to beate them vp & ouer, or to haue walled a boate with shot, and watched by the Spaniards after the towne was had: the peeces that were bent vpon vs they saw we rade to enter it by force, and they fled so verie speedily, like coaders.

DD Ships which the purposely drowned in the mouth of the harbour, to put our Fleet should not enter into the said harbour.

EE A great dragle, great Gantz which the Spaniardes had in their harbour, which hat our departure from the citie we burned.

FF Ships of the Spaniardes in the inner harbour, which vpon our departure we consumed with fire.

GG Gardens which were very pleasant being very ful of many excellent sorts of fruits, which belonged to the Indwellers of the citie.

HH A Frierie on the top of a hill called Saint Barbara.

II The way which *Baptist* the Lieftenaunt Generals Page went as Messenger from the Generall vp into the countrey to the Lord President of Saint Domingo, being some 12. miles distant from the citie.

KK A place called the white Tower.

LL A strange beast drawne after the life, and is called by our English mariners Algarta, by the Spaniardes Caiman, which liueth both at sea and land, he watcheth the Tortoise when she laieth egges, and when the Tortoise is gone from them, he will hunt them out, and deuoure them all that he findeth. He hath bene seene by the Spaniards to take hold of an oxe or a cowe by the taile and so to draw them forcibly into the sea, and there deuoure them: & so likewise a man whome hee hath surprised a sleepe or otherwise at vnawares: for if hee bee in time eluded, a man may wel escape by flight, for he runneth not so fast as a man, but with pikes and pikes we killed many in defoat Ilands and eat them, whose flesh is like to veale in sight, but the old are somwhat rammish in taste: the yong of halfe growth are verie special good meat, his backe is well armed with a strong scale, but his belly soft, & betweene the forlegge and the bodies is the best place to strike him with a pike, they are of eight or nine foote long, and some lesse, his backe of a darkish gray colour, his belly whitish yellow.

MM A Tortoise is a fish that liueth in the sea, but commeth to the land to lay his egs in breeding time, and going vpon her fins which are strong & tough, commeth to the sand some 40. or 50. paces from the sea, there with her forefinnes scrapeth a hole in the sand, and so turning her hinder part in the said hole layeth her egges, which at one time are about one hundred, and so scraping the sand ouer the egges againe to hide them, goeth her way to the sea and neuer commeth a-gaine. the egges by the heat of the sunne are in a due time hatched, and the yong goe prefently to the sea, one following of an other, which whome if the Augarra doe meet, hee deuoureth them one after another as they come. This Tortises flesh is good meate, and is like vnto beefe both in taste & shew, the egs are also verie good, sauing that they haue a little rammish taste (as to mee seemeth) but many others liked them well, the scale of the backe which is but one shell is about three foote long, and two foot and a halfe broad, wherof many vsed for Targets against arrowes, or any other edged weapon. In the Ilands of Caimanes we killed an hundred in two nights, where we killed also many Algartas, as foresaid, & there with refreshed our people greatlie. The Tortoise in the night comming vp to lay egges as is aforesaid, is watched by vs, who purposelie walking along by the sea side, as soon as we can spie them on land, either going vp or comming downe, wee runne to take hold of them, who runneth but slowly, and do ouerturne them by the fides of the backe shell, and lay them on their backs, and so leauing them, go on to seeke more vntill the morning, and then gather them all together, for they can not possiblie turne themselues on their belly againe: the backe is blackish, the belly hath also a scale, but it is softer then the backe, and yellow of colour, and betweene the two shels they will draw in their head and feet as it were betweene two boordes, when they be afraide of any thing.

SAINT DOMINGO

A Fires made by the Spaniardes dwelling in the Country vpon sight of our ships, to giue notice vnto those of the Towne.

B The place where our Pinnaces & Shipboates landed our souldiers, which might be some ten miles from the citie of Saint Domingo.

C A woody way which our Army marched along the countrey, to the city of Saint Domingo the same being a beaten broad highway.

D A large plaine and place where the Army was martialled into order of battell, and so marched towardes the city.

E A troupe of shot sent before the vantgard to discouer.

F A troupe of shot belonging to the vantgard, and was lead a little before the squadron of pikes of the said vantgard.

G The squadron of pikes which had the vantgard, which squadron with the troupes of shot belonging vnto it, consisted of three cōpanies.

H Two troupes of shot which marched as the right wing or flancke of the vantgard.

I Two troupes of shot marching as the left wing or flancke of the vantgard.

K A Troupe of shot being also of the vantgard, & folowed the pikes.

L The first troupe of shot belonging to the battell, and is the lesser of the twaine that march before, appointed expresly to discouer and to take knowledge of any thing before.

M The second troupe of shot being the greater belonging to the maine battell and marched next before the same.

N Troupes of shot belonging to the maine battell.

O The great squadron of pikes which caried the place of maine battell, which with the troups of shot belonging vnto it consisted of foure Companies of 150. men to each companie or thereabout.

P The squadron of pikes which made the riergard, which with the troupes of shot thereunto belonging, consisted of three enseignes or companies.

Q Troupes of shot belonging to the riergard.

R The gate where M. Carleill the Lieutenant Generall entred with his companies, where was placed and discharged against vs three peeces of ordinance.

S The gate where Captaine Powell entered with the vantgard.

T A great droue of kine and oxen of a huge bignesse, which the enemy had driuen vpon us to put vs out of order, that then their horsemen might the better assaile vs.

V Two troupes of horsemen of the enemy, which sometime charged our vantgard, but were quickly made to retire.

X Two troupes of Spaniards which sometime we saw in sight.

Y A troupe of shot of the enemy which lay in ambush and discharged their voley of shot vpon vs hard by the gate where the Lieutenaunt Generall with his troupes entred the city pell mell with them.

Z The place where the whole Fleete anckered.

AA The market place of the city.

BB The great church being very finely built & sumtuously furnished.

CC The castle wherin they had planted some 50. peeces of ordinance which commanded all the harbour, as well to seaward as also to the inward part thereof, being walled about with freestone, and was kept by the Spaniards after the towne was lost the space of twelue houres, vntill they saw vs ready to enter it by force, and they fled ouer the riuer by little boates.

DD Ships which they purposely drowned in the mouth of the harbour, because our Fleete should not enter into the said harbour.

EE A goodly great Gallie which the Spaniards had in their harbour which at our departure from the citie we burned.

FF Ships of the Spaniards in the inner harbour, which vpon our departure we consumed with fire.

GG Gardens which were very pleasant being very full of manie excellent sorts of fruites, which belonged to the indwellers of the citie.

HH A Frierie on the top of a hill called Saint Barbara.

II The way which a messenger went from the Generall vp into the countrie to the Lord President of Saint Domingo, being some 12. miles distant from the citie.

KK A place called the white Tower.

LL A strange beast drawne after the life, & is called by our English mariners Aligarta, by the Spaniards Caiman, which liueth both at sea and land, he watcheth the Tortoise when she laieth egges, & when the Tortoise is gone from them he will hunt them out, & deuour them all that he findeth. He hath bene seene by the Spaniards to take hold of an oxe or cowe by the taile and so to draw them forcibly into the sea, and there deuour them: & so likewise a man whom he hath surprised a sleepe or otherwise at vnawares: for if he be in time espied a man may well escape by flight, for he rũneth not so fast as a man, but with pieces & pikes we killed many in desolate Islands and eate them, whose flesh is most like to veale in sight, but the olde are somewhat rammish in tast: the young of halfe growth are very speciall good meate, his back is well armed with a strong scale, but his belly soft, and betwene the forlegge and the body is the best place to strike him with a pike, they are of eight or nine foote long and some lesse, his back of a darkish gray collour, his belly whitish yeallow.

MM A Tortoise is a fish that liueth in the sea, but cõmeth to the land to lay his egges in breeding time, and going vpon her finnes which are strong and tough, commeth to the sand some 40. or 50. pases from the sea, there with her fore finnes scrapeth a hole in the sand, and so turning her hinder parte in the said hole laieth her egges, which at one time are about one hundred, and so scraping the sand ouer the egs againe to hide them, goeth her way to the sea and neuer commeth

againe, the egs by the heat of the sunne are in a due time hatched, and the yong go presently to the sea one following of an other, with whom if the Aligarta doe meet, he deuoureth thē one after an other as they come. This Tortoises flesh is good meate, & is like vnto beefe both in tast and shew, the egges are also very good, sauing that they haue a litle rammish tast (as to me seemeth) but many others liked them wel, the scale of the backe which is but one shell is about three foot long, and two foote and a halfe broad, whereof many are vsed for targets against arrowes, or any other edged weapon. In the Islands of Caimanes we killed a hundred in two nights, where we killed also many Aligartas aforsaid, & therwith refreshed our people greatly. The Tortoise in the night comming vp to lay egges as is aforsaid, is watched by vs, who purposely walking along by the sea side, as soone as we can espie them on land either going vp or comming downe, we runne to take holde of them, who runneth but slowly, and so ouerturne them by the side of the backe shell, and lay them on their backs, and so leauing them go on to seeke more vntil the morning, and then gather them all together, for they can not possibly turne themselues on their belly againe, the backe is blackish, the belly hath also a scale, but it is softer then the backe, and yallow of coullour, and betweene the two shelles they will draw in their head and feete as if it were betweene two boordes, when they be affraid of any thing.

CIVITAS S Dominici sita in Hispaniola Indica Angliae magnitudine fere aequalis, ipsa vrbs elagantor ab Hispanis extructa, et omnibus circumuicinis insulis iura dat.

The City of Saint Domingo situated in the Spanish territory of the [West] Indies is almost equal in extent to England. The town itself was built with great taste by the West Indian Spaniards, and exercises jurisdiction over all the neighbouring islands.

NEC SPE NEC METV [motto beneath coat of arms].

Neither in hope nor in fear.

CARTAGENA

A The place where the whole Fleete first anckered.

B The place where the Pinnaces and Shipboats did set the souldiers on shore, which might be some foure or fiue miles distant from the towne of Cartagena.

C The way which our Army marched along the sea side towardes the towne.

D Small stickes in great numbers of halfe a yarde long being sharpe pointed at both endes, the one end being thrust into the ground in the cōmon high way as we should haue marched, & the other ends sticking vpwards, & as it were bent against vs, and were all dressed with a most villanous and mortall poison: so as it did but breake the skin of any part of a man either in the leg or otherwise there was no remedie to be had to preserue his life. But the direction which was geuen vs by Maister Carleill Lieutenant generall to march close by the sea side, was cause that very few of our men were touched with them.

E The troupe of pikes and shot which had the vantgard of our Army.

F A Fortification built of stone worke cleane ouer the necke of the lande, very orderly done each parte aunswearing and flancking the other, hauing a ditch or trench without it, and within were fiue peeces of great ordinaunce, sakers[1] and demiculuerins,[1] which did beate right in front vpon our approch, and within the said wall for the gard thereof were also three hundred men, pikes and shot, the said necke of land being but fiftie pases ouer from one sea water to the other.

G Two great Gallies which were within the hauen, were placed as you see without the stone wall aforsaid, of purpose to beat crosse the straight of land: and so to flancke vs in our approch, in which Gallies were planted eleuen peeces of ordinance and 400. souldiers, which of ordinarie did belong vnto them, & were all small shot, which ordinance & small shot as wel on land as in the Gallies, was wonderfully imploied that it was strange to heare the same. But God who hath appointed the meanes, preserued our troupes aboue all expectation: for by the direction which was geuen by Master Carleill the Leiutenaunt Generall to marche close by the sea side, which was also lower then all the rest of the ground and by the aduantage of the darknes, the day light being not as yet broken forth, we escaped the most danger of all their thundering, and made our approch with very small losse to speake of. And so finding at one ende of this Fortification a little place for their horses to salley, which was also made vp with a good Barikado of wine pipes filled with earth, we attempted the same, and finding our pikes longer than theirs, our bodies better armed, and our mindes more resolutely prepared, we plucked the same downe with our handes to the

[1] A saker fired a 5 ℔ shot, a demi-culverin a 9 ℔ shot.

grounde, and will they nill, we entered perforce, in which fight the Captaine of the place being a very gallant personage, was first hurt and then taken prisoner, and almost all his officers slaine, with diuers others of his company.

H A great Galliasse well furnished with ordinaunce, which she imploied as well as she might, but not to any purpose because she coulde not come so neere the shore, which was not deepe inough of water for her.

I The Spaniards flying away after our entry into the Fortification aforsaid, and hauing quickly afterwardes lost their towne also, they passed through the same, and by the bridge on the other side do take their flight into the country.

K Certaine Pinnaces of ours which intertained a little skirmish with the forte of the hauen, but returned to the Fleete without being able to do any matter of importaunce.

L The Forte which kept the inner hauen, which was built of faire free stone, and had in it both good store of ordinaunce and men to defend it, but it was abandoned the day after we had wonne the towne, vpon intelligence they had gotten of an attempt which was intended against it the same night following.

M The place where the two Gallies were burned.

N The place where our Fleete anckered the second time, which was after the towne was wonne.

O Ships of theirs which we burned.

P The market place of the towne.

Q The Church which was newly builded of very faire stone worke which by vs was much ruined againe, by a chaunce in shooting a peece of ordinance at the setting of the watch, the bullet wherof being a great culuerin or rather a demicannon, happening to take the toppe of a maine pillar, made one parte after an other to fall downe.

R A bridge by the which the Spaniards tooke their flight into the countrie after they had left their towne.

S The place where our ships anckered the third time being vpon our departure.

T An Island wherin is planted as is in an orchard a great number of delicate frutes, more than can be well remembered, as Orenges, Lemons, Plantens, Mamey, Apples, Sugercanes, &c. In the said Island is also a very great well of fresh water, where we furnished the whole Fleete of fresh water.

V A beast called a Guana bearing this shape and fashion as is here truely purtraicted, it liueth on the land in the woodes and desert places, and is caught by the sauage or Indian people who sell them to the Spaniards, they are of a sad greene collour, and their body of the bignes of a connie, they are eaten by the Indians and Spaniardes, and so likewise by vs for a very dilicate meate, in the breeding time the femall is full

of egges in great number, and they of all the rest are esteemed the most delicate.

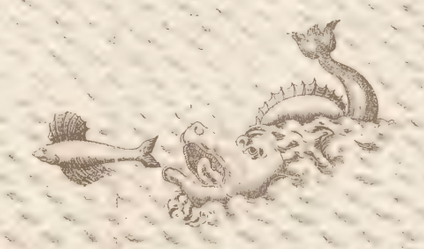
X Two lakes of standing water being brackish.

CIVITAS CARTHAGENA in Indiae occidentalis continente sita, portu commodissimo, ad mercaturam inter Hispaniam et Peru exercendam.

The City of Carthagena is situated in the West Indian continent, and possesses an excellent harbour most suitable for trading between Spain and Peru.

CIVITAS CARTHAGE
fita, portu commodissimo, ad
Boream excendens.

ARTAGENA



CARTAGENA.

A The place where the whole Fleete first anckered.

B The place where the Pinnaces and shipboates did set the souldiers on shore, which might be some foure or fiue miles distant from the towne of Cartagena.

C The way which our armie marched along the sea side towardes the towne.

D Small stickes in great numbers of halfe a yard long being sharpe pointed at both ends, the one end being thrust into the ground in the common high way as we should haue marched, and the other endes sticking vpwards, and as it were bent against vs, and were all dressed with a most villanous and mortall poison: so as if it did but breake the skin of any part of a man, either in the leg or otherwise, there was no remedy to be had to preserue his life. But the deuise which was giuen vs by M Carleill Lieutenant Generall to march close by the sea side, was cause that verie few of our men were touched with them.

E The troope of pikes & shot which had the vantgard of our army.

F A Fortification built of stone worke cleane ouer the necke of the land, verie orderly done, each part answering and flanking the other, hauing a ditch or trench without it, and within were fiue peeces of great ordinance, Sakers and Demi-Culuerins, which did beat right in front vpon our approch, and within the said wall for the gard thereof were also three hundred men, pikes and shot, the said necke of land being but fifty paces ouer from one sea water to the other.

G Two great Gallies which were within the hauen, were placed as you see without the stone wall aforesaid, of purpose to beat crosse the straight of land: and so to flancke vs in our approch, in which Gallies were planted eleuen peeces of ordinance and 400 souldiers, which of ordinary did belong vnto them, & were al smal shot, which ordinance & small shot as well on land as in the Gallies, was wonderfully imployed, that it was strange to heare the same. But God who hath appointed the meanes, preserued our troopes aboue all expectation: for by the direction which was giuen vs by M. Carleil the Lieftenant generall to march close by the sea side, which was also lower then all the rest of the ground & by the aduantage of the darknesse, the day light being not as yet broken forth, we escaped the most danger of their thundering, and made our approch with verie small losse to speake of. And so finding at the end of this Fortification a litle place for their horses to salley, which was also made vp with a good Barrikado of wine pipes filled with earth, we attempted the same, and finding our pikes longer then theirs, our bodies better armed [illegible] more resolutely prepared, we plucked the same down with our hands to the ground, and will they, nill they, we entered perforce, in which fight the Captaine of the place being a gallant Personage, was first hurt, and then taken Prisoner, and almost all his officers slaine, with diuers others of his companie.

H A great Galliasse well furnished with ordinance, which she imployed as well as the night, but not to any purpose, because she could not come so neere the shoare, which was not deepe enough of water for her.

I The Spaniards flying away after our entrie into the Fortification aforesaid, and hauing quickely afterwards lost their towne also, they passed through the same, and by the bridge on the other side do take their flight into the countrie.

K Certaine Pinnaces of ours which intertained a little skirmish with the Fort of the Hauen, but returned to the Fleete without being able to do anie matter of importance.

L The Forte which kept the inner Hauen, which was built of faire free stone, and had in it both good store of ordinance and men to defend it, but it was abandoned the day after we had wonne the towne, vpon intelligence they had gotten of an attempt which was intended against it the same night following.

M The place where the two Gallies were burned.

N The place where our Fleet anckered the second time, which was after the towne was wonne.

O Ships of theirs which wee burned.

P The market place of the towne.

Q The Church which was newly builded of very faire stone work which by vs was much ruined againe, by a chance in shooting a peece of ordinance at the discarging of the watch, the bullet wherof being a great Culuerin, or rather a Demicannon, happening to take the toppe of a maine pillar, made one part after another to fall downe.

R A bridge by the which the Spaniardes tooke their flight into the countrie after they had lost their towne.

S The place where our ships anckered the third time, being vppon our departure.

T An Island wherein is planted as in an Orchard, a great number of delicate fruits, more then can bee well remembred, as Orenges, Lemons, Plantens, Mamey, Appler, Sugercanes, &c. In the said Island is also a verie great well of fresh water, where we furnished the whole Fleet of fresh water.

V A beast called a Guana bearing this shape and fashion as is here truly portraicted, it liueth on the land in the woodes and desert places, and is caught by the sauadge or Indian people who sell them to the Spaniards, they are of a sad greene colour, and their bodie of the bignes of a connie, they are eaten by the Indians and Spaniards, and so likewise by vs for a very delicate meat, in the breeding time the small is full of egs in great number, and they of all the rest are esteemed the most delicate.

X Two lakes of standing water being brackish.

OPIDVM S Augustini lignis ædibus constructum, amœnissimas habuit hortos, vtig solo fœcundissimo arabiles vero cum inde solueremus ineuto igne in eo conuersi redactum Præsidium hic erat ab Hispanosis aliudq item eodem numero ad duodecimi Septentrionē Versus situm in loco S Helenæ dicto hæc cum præsidia quamadmodum essent in prospectu non alio consilio disposita nisi vt ab ijs ad populandos Anglos et Gallos in miserum ipsorum quos præsidijs inclusos tenerent, accuparent

SAINT AVGVSTINE.

A The place where the vvhole Fleete came to ancker.
B The place where the Pinnaces & shipboates did serve on shore.
C A Beacon or high scaffolde standing on the sand hill, wherein the Spaniards did vse to discouer ships at sea.
D The way which our Armie marched along the sand by the sea side towardes their fort.
E The place where our Pinnaces put our ordinance on land.
F A lowe plaine or medow ground through the which our troopes passed, to goe towardes the vvoods right ouer against the Spaniards fort.
G A vvood growing hard by the riuer side, hauing betvveene it & the riuer side a high banke of sand, in vvhich vvood our men encamped themselues, and in the said great bank of sand, being fitted for the purpose, vvas placed also vvo pieces of ordinance to beate the Spanish fort, vvh cheuerons vvith vvith expedition as they were planted and discharged vvilfor turne the same day vve landed, meaning the next day to haue had more ordinance brought, and to haue it planted on the same side of the riuer vvherein the fort is, vvhether Master Carleill our Lieftenaunt generall was minded the same night to transport himselfe and some part of the Armie, to lodge himself som some trenches close by the Fort, but the Spaniardes perceiuing the approch, abandoned the place before the day.
H A Pinnace which the Spaniards had lying hard by their Fort in the lake riuer.
I The fort vvhich the Spaniards had made of the bodies of Cedar trees, they placed therein some fourteene great and long peeces of artillerie, which at our arriuall there to the sand banke plaied vpon vs, the fort was called S. Iohn de Pinos, which aftervvard vve burned.
K Our Pinnaces as they towed vp the riuer being all full of men, vvho because the vvay vvas not passable were faine to embarke themselues to take the Towne of S. Augustine, which being vvonne was at our departure burned to the ground.
L The towne of S. Augustine where dwelled a hundred and fiftie Spanish souldiers.
M The towne house.
N A high scaffold for a watchman.
O The Church.
P The liuelie portraiture of a fish called the Dolphin, which is of three seuerall colours: the top of his backe and all his fins be blew, all his sides are of light greene, the bellie white, his head almost all blew the taile one part blue, and the lower part greene is very pleasaunt to beholde in the sea by date light, and in the night hee seemeth to be of the colour of golde, he taketh pleasure as other fishes do by swimming by the ship, hee is excellent sweet to bee eaten, this fish liueth most by chasing of the flying fishe and other small fishes: they are caught most commonly by our mariners, with harping yrons or fisgigs.

SAINT AUGUSTINE

A The place where the whole Fleete came to ancker.

B The place where the Pinnaces and Shipboats did set vs on shore.

C A Beacon or high scaffolde standing on the sand hils, wherein the Spaniards did vse to discouer ships at sea.

D The way which our army marched along the sand by the sea side towardes their fort.

E The place where our Pinnaces put our ordinaunce on land.

F A lowe plaine or meadow ground through the which our troupes passed to go towards the woods right ouer against the Spaniards forte.

G A wood growing hard by the riuer side, hauing betweene it and the riuer side a high bancke of sande, in which wood our men encamped themselues, and in the said great bancke of sand, being fitted for the purpose was placed also two peeces of ordinaunce to beate the Spanish forte, which was done with such expedition as they were planted and discharged twise or thrise the same day we landed, meaning the next day to haue had more ordinaunce brought, and to haue it planted on the same side of the riuer wherein the fort is, whither Master Carleill our Lieutenant generall was minded the same night to transport himself & some part of the army, to lodge himself in some trenches close by the fort, but the Spaniards perceiuing the approch abandoned the place before the day.

H A Pinnace which the Spaniards had lying hard by their forte in the little riuer.

I The fort which the Spaniardes had made of the bodies of Cedar trees, they placed therein some fourteene great and long peeces of artillery, which at our ariuall there to the sand bancke played vpon vs, the forte was called Saint Iohn de Pinos which afterward we burned.

K Our Pinnaces as they rowed vp the riuer being all full of men, who because the way was not passable were faine to embarke them selues to take the towne of Saint Augustine, which being wonne was at our departure burned to the ground.

L The towne of Saint Augustine where dwelled a hundred and fifty Spanish souldiers.

M The towne house.

N A high scaffold for a watchman.

O The Church.

P The liuely purtraicture of a fish called the Dolphin, which is of three seuerall coullours: the top of his backe and all his fins be blue, all his sides are of light greene, the belly white, his head almost all blue, the taile one parte blue, and the lower parte greene, he is very pleasant to beholde in the sea by day light, and in the night he seemeth to be of the coullour of gold, he taketh pleasure as other fishes do by swimming by

the ship, he is excellent sweete to be eaten, this fish liueth most by chasing of the flying fish and other small fishes, they are caught most commonly by our mariners with harping irons or fisgigs.

OPIDVM S AUGUSTINI ligneis aedibus constructum, amoenissimos habuit hortos, vitq solo faecundissimo. a nobis vero cum inde soluerimos iniecto igne in cineres reductum. Praefidium hic erat 150 Hispanorū., aluidq item eodem numero ad duodecem Septentrionē versus leucas in loco S Helenae dicto—haec enim praesidia quemadmodum canes in praesepi non alio consilio disposita erant nisi ad prohibendos Anglos et Gallos ne interiectam regionem quae prorsus inculta iacet, occuparent.

The City of St. Augustine was of wooden construction and had most delightful pleasure-gardens and especially a most fertile Soil. But when we weighed anchor, having set it on fire, the city was reduced to ashes. The guard here was composed of 150 West Indian Spanish soldiers, likewise the same number twelve leagues away in a northerly direction in a place named St. Helena. Like dogs in an enclosure, these guards were drawn up in line for no other reason than to prevent the English and French from occupying the intervening space which was completely uncultivated ground.

S AVGVSTINI pars est terrae Florida sub latitudine 30 grad ora vero maritima humilior est, lancinata et insulosa.

St. Augustine is part of the land of Florida at a latitude of 30 degrees. The coast-line is lower, however, indented and full of islets.

ENGLISH MILITARY BOOKS TO 1587

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH MILITARY BOOKS PUBLISHED DOWN TO AND INCLUDING THE YEAR 1587

THE following bibliography of English military books provides the key to the outstanding military success of Drake's West Indian Expedition of 1585-6, and Cadiz raid of 1587. Drake and Christopher Carleill, his second in command and commander of the troops in the field on the West Indian voyage, were both students of the art of war.

Military narratives, histories, and text books on equitation have been excluded.

Unless indicated otherwise, all the books were printed and published in London.

1. 1489. PISAN, CHRISTINE DE. Trans. William Caxton.

[*The Book of the Faytes of Armes and of Chyualrie*] commences:

Here begynneth the table of the rubryshys of the boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyualrye whiche sayd boke is departyd in to foure partyes /

The fyrst partye deuyseth the manere that kynges and prynces oughten to holde in the fayttes of theyr werres and bataylles after thordre of bokes / dictes / and examples of the most preu and noble conquerours of the world / And how & what maner fayttes ought best to be chosen & the maners that they ought to kepe and holde in theyr offices of armes.

Item the second partye speketh after Frontyn of cawteles and subtylties of armes whiche he calleth stratagenies of thordre & manere to fyghte & deffende castellis & cytees after Vegece and other auctours / And to make warre and gyue bataylle in ryuers and in the See. /

Item the thyrde parte speketh of the droytes & ryghtes of armes after the lawes & droyt wreton

Item the / iiii / partye speketh of the droytes of armes in the faytes of saufconduytes / of tryews / of marke & after of champ of bataylle / that is of fyghtyng within listes.

[Sig. S.5. recto.] Explicit. Thus endeth this boke which xpyne of pyse made and drewe out of the boke named Vegecius de re militari & out of tharbre of bataylles.

[Translated from the French by William Caxton.] *Per Caxton:* [Westminster 1489.]

Le Livre des Faits d'Armes et de Chevalrie, from which William Caxton translated his *Fayttes of Armes* in 1489, was written by Christine de Pisan, poetess and authoress who was born at Venice in 1364. In 1379 she married the secretary of Charles V of France. The date of her death is unknown, but was subsequent to 1429. She wrote *Les Faits d'Armes* in 1408-9. The greater part of the work is compiled from the works of Vegetius, Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, Honore Bonet and a contemporary anonymous siege-warfare expert.

2. No date. Anonymous.

Heere foloweth the ordre or Trayne of Warre, that a Prince, or a heed Captayne, ought to take, that wyll Conquere, or assege a place, or kepe or defende a place, where he dowteth to be assayled in his owne countree, or to marche or trauers the countree of his enymes or to make gwerre gwerreable.

Cockle gives the date 1525-30. Wyre, who printed it, ceased publishing about 1556.

3. 1539. Frontinus, Sextus Julius. [Trans. Rycharde Morysina.]

The Strategemes, Sleyghtes, and policies of warre, gathered togyther, by S. Julius Frontinus, and translated into Englyshe by Richarde Morysine. Anno. M.D.XXXIX.

Sextus Julius Frontinus, ca. A.D. 40-103 was a provincial governor in Britain from A.D. 75 to 78 and a Roman soldier and author.

His work *De re militare* is lost.

In an interesting dedication of the work addressed to King Henry VIII, Morysine, who translated the work from the French version of Paris, 1536, pleads for the study of war by English "Captaynes" that by reading and reasoning they should increase their military knowledge and skill. Richard Morysine was thus the first Englishman to urge in print the study of military operations.

Frontinus's military writings were second only to Vegetius's in popularity. (See 4)

Some "general rules of war, taken out of Vegetius" were added by the printers to fill up some blank pages at the end.

4. 1540-55. Anonymous.

An order whych a Prince in battayll must obserue, and kepe, yf he entende to subdewe, or passe thoroughe the enemyes landes.

Reynold, who printed the book, printed between 1540 and 1555.

The text consists of rules drawn from Vegetius on fighting in the field and against, or in defence of, fortified places.

Vegetius (Flavius Vegetius Renatus) was a military writer of the 4th century A.D.

Vegetius's work was first brought into vogue in Europe in 1284 when it was first translated into French, and was also used as the basis of a work on military art.

There is an English translation of Vegetius dating from 1408.

His work was very popular and dealt with levying and training recruits, organisation, tactics, including thirty-two maxims of war, fortification, siege warfare, and a short chapter on sea (galley) warfare.

5. 1544.

Statutes and ordynances for the warre. Londini. Anno. M.D.XLIIII.

Fifty-three ordinances and a preamble drawn up originally for the governance of the English forces assembled for the invasion of France by Henry VIII in 1513.

6. 1544. Porcia, Giacomo, Count. [Trans. Peter Betham.]

The preceptes of Warre set forth by James the Erle of Purlilia, and translated into Englysh by Peter Betham, 1544.

A translation of Porcia's *Clarissimi viri Jacobi Purliliarum comitis de re militari liber.* (Venice, 1530). Dedicated to Sir Thomas Audeley. [Not sighted.]

7. 1545. Ascham, Roger.

Toxophilus, The schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes. To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace.

The standard work on archery. The first part gives the history of the bow, the second contains instructions for its use.

Ascham advised against changing the bow for any other weapon.

In 1585 bowmen formed part of both Drake's Caribbean forces and Leicester's expeditionary force in the Low Countries.

The range and high rate of fire still often made the bow a more deadly weapon than the musket and caliver which took several minutes to re-load.

8. 1560. Macchiavelli, Niccolo. Trans. Peter Whitehorne.

The Arte of Warre, written first in Italiā *by Nicholas Macchiauell, and set* forthe in Englishe by Peter Whitehorne, studient at Graies Inne: with an addiciō of other like Marcialle feates and experimentes, as in a Table in the ende of the Booke maie appere. Anno. M.D.L.X. Menss. Julij.

Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

Peter Whitehorne was a soldier and Fellow of Gray's Inn. Macchiavelli's *The Arte of Warre* was published originally in Italian in 1521. The basic idea was the formation of a national army, furnished by conscription and inspired with the spirit later shown by Cromwell's New Model Army. All able bodied men were to be drilled regularly and were periodically to be mobilised and manoeuvred as in time of war. Discipline was to be such that "an apple tree laden with fruit might stand untouched in the midst of their encampment."

Some ten years before he published it Peter Whitehorne, then serving in the Emperor's wars against the Moors and Turks, had translated the work for his own instruction and to improve his Italian. He now proffered it to her Majesty to whom he dedicated the work, together with his *Certain Waies*, for "the common utilitie of the publike wealth."

9. 1562. PETER WHITEHORNE.

Certain Waies *for the orderyng of Souldiers in bat*telray, & settyng of battailes, after diuers fashions, with their maner of marchyng: And also Fygures of certaine new plattes for fortification of Townes: And more ouer, how to make Saltpetre, Gunpoulder, and diuers sortes of Fireworkes or wilde Fyre, with other thynges apertaining to the warres. Gathered and set foorthe by *Peter Whitehorne.*

This was brought out as a supplement to the *Art of War* and in it Whitehorne dealt with subjects not touched on by Macchiavelli, such as Fortification and Ordnance. Indeed Whitehorne wrote a special chapter on "How much the artillerie ought to be estemed of the armies now adayes."

He was thus the first Englishman to write on Ordnance and its uses.

10. 1562. SHUTE, JOHN.

Two very notable Commentaries the one of the originall of the Tvrcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanne, written by Andrewe Cambine, and thother of the warres of the Turcke against George Seanderbeg, prince of Epire, and of the great victories obteyned by the sayd George, aswell against the Emperour of Turkie, as other princes, and of his other rare force and vertues, worthye of memorye, translated oute of Italian into Englishe by John Shute.

Dedicated to Lord Clinton and Saye, the Lord high Admiral, the dedicatory epistle dilates at length upon military virtues, discipline and offices.

11. 1563. ONOSANDER. [Trans. Peter Whitehorne.]

Onosandro Platonico, of the Generall Captaine, and of his office, translated out of Greke into Italyan, by Fabio Cotta, a Romayne: and out of Italian into Englysh, by Peter Whytehorne.

Dedicated to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

Onosander was a Greek philosopher of the 1st century A.D. His work was originally dedicated to Quintus Veranius Nepos, Consul A.D. 49, and Legate of Britain. In it were laid down the recognised rules of war, with explanations for their observance, and the qualities to be sought for in a "Generall captaine." He should be chosen, not for his wealth nor social rank but, wrote Onosander, "Such a manne is to bee sought, who is temperate, continente, sobre, abstinent, and not excessiue in eating and drynking, pacient in trauaile, of witte prompt, not couetous, neyther yong, nor olde, and that he haue children, if suche a one may be had, and to be a faire speaker, of good name and fame, and of muche reputacion." He should be sober "For that in the time of night, by quietnes of mind, the counsels of captaines examined, more perfectly may thē be confirmed."

He should be "most painfull" because "it doth apperteine to the Captaine, that he in the turmoyles of the war, maye be the last to be werye," and "quicke witted" that he might "with his minde make iudgement, and as it were deuine, & a far of, forsee that which is to come."

All these qualities Drake displayed to perfection.

Peter Whitehorne translated Cotta's Italian translation of 1546 of Onosander (the first translation into a modern tongue) because he had been so impressed by the martial achievements and discipline of the Turks which he had witnessed in

Constantinople and Turkey, and which, he evidently considered, was the result of the study of war.

12. 1563. GALE, THOMAS.

An excellent Treatise of wounds made with Gonneshot, in which is confuted both the grose errour of Jerome Brunswicke, John Vigo, Alfonse Ferrius, and others: in that they make the wound venomous, whiche commeth through the common pouder and shotte: And also there is set out a perfect and trew methode of curyng these woundes. Newly compiled and published by Thomas Gale Maister in Chirurgerie.

The first English book on the treatment of gunshot wounds, a subject first mentioned by the German, Brunswick, in 1497.

The first treatise was Ambroise Paré's *La Methode de Traicter les playes faictes par Hacqvebvtes . . . fleches, dartz . . . aussi de combustions specialement faictes par la poudre à cannon.*

Published in Paris in 1545.

Gale's treatise was one of four included in a volume printed by Rowland Hall, entitled "Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie newly compiled . . . by Thomas Gale . . ."

13. 1571. ASCHAM, ROGER.

Toxophilus, The schole, or partitions of shooting contayned in ij bookes, writtē by Roger Ascham. 1544. And now newly perused. *Pleasaunt for all Gentle*men and Yomen of England for their pastime to reade, and profitable for their vse to folowe both in warre and peace.

The second edition of this classic work.

14. 1571. DIGGES, LEONARD AND THOMAS.

A Geometrical *Practise, named* Pantometria, diuided into three Bookes, *Longimetra, Planimetra* and *Stereometria,* containing Rules manifolde *for mensuration of all lines, Superficies and Solides: With* sundry straunge conclusions both by instrument and without and also by Perspective glasses, to set forth the true description or exact plat of an whole Region: framed by Leonard Digges Gentleman, lately finished by Thomas Digges his sonne. Who hath also thereunto adioyned a *Mathematicall* treatise . . .

Dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Longimetra is on Topography. The construction and use of the gunner's quadrant is also fully described, as is the forerunner of the theodolite.

15. 1572. VEGETIUS, FLAVIUS. Trans. John Sadler.

The Foure *bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus, brieflye contayninge a* plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martiall policye, feates of Chiualrie, and whateuer pertayneth to warre.

Translated out of lattine, into Englishe, by Iohn Sadler. Anno. 1572. *Imprinted at London* by Thomas Marshe.

John Sadler in a lengthy foreword to the reader summarised the main points of the book interspersed with a running commentary of his own, containing observations such as:

"The reading of historyes and other writers of Warre [is] not unmeete for Captaynes"; "Experience ioyned with knowledge, brīgeth great thinges to passe"; [It is] "Better to ioyne experience to knowledge, then to gette knowledge by experience." He emphasised that ". . . not experience alone brought" the "most famous Captaynes before our time" to fame "but diligente learninge and studyinge of the feates of warre, written and set forth both by historicall writers and Poets, and by such also as this our present Author Vegetius is."

The first of the many commendatory verses was in Latin and by "Christopherus Carlilius (Christopher Carleill, Lieutenant-General on Drake's Caribbean Expedition of 1585-86).

16. 1573. Macchiavelli, Nicolo. Trans. Peter Whitehorne. 2nd Edition.

The *Arte of Warre*, written in Italian by Nicolas Macchiauel, and set foorth in English by Peter Whithorne, studēt at Graies Inne: with other like Martial feates and experimentes, as in a Table in the ende of the booke may appeare.

Newly imprinted with other additions. An. M.D.LXXIII.

17. 1573. Whitehorne, Peter. 2nd Edition.

Certaine Wayes for the ordering [g reversed] of *Souldiours in battelray, and setting* of battayles . . .

18. 1574. Cataneo, Girolamo. [Trans. by H.G.]

Most Briefe Tables to knowe redily howe *manye ranckes of footemen armed* with Corslettes, as vnarmed, go to the making of a iust battayle, from an hundred vnto twenty thousande. Next a very easye, and approued way to arme a battaile with Harkabuzers, and winges of horsemen according to the vse at these daies. Newlye increased, and largelye *amplified both in the tables, as in the declarations of the same, by the Aucthour himselfe*, Girolamo Cataneo Novarese. Tourned out of Italion into English by H.G.

The Tables, arranged in sixteen columns, show at a glance the number of men in each rank, and the number of ranks, and parts requisite for any given formation etc., for a force ranging from 100 to 20,000 men.

19. 1574. Rich, Barnabe.

A Right Exelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercvry and an English Souldier: Contayning his Supplication *to Mars: Bewtified* with sundry worthy Histories, rare inuentions, and politike deuises. Wrytten by B. Rich: Gen. 1574.

The first part contains an exposure of the ill-usage of the English soldier, and a defence of archery. The second part is a classical phantasy.

Rich, Barnabe. (1540?-1620?)
Soldier and author and sea captain.
Engaged in Mary's war with France 1557-8.

In 1585 he wrote that it was 30 years since he was first a soldier in field or in garrison. (*Aduentures of Brusanus*)

He fought in the campaigns in the Low Countries in the early part of Elizabeth's reign and rose to captain's rank. He then served in Ireland, near Dublin,

from 1573 onwards. Starting writing in 1574, he wrote a number of tales and romances as well as military books and pamphlets.

He was listed sixty-fifth in the "List of men fit to command ships. The Names of Sea Captains the 5th January Anno. 1585 [1586]." in S.P. Dom. CLXXXVI. 8. reprinted in Corbett, *The Spanish War.*

20. 1574. BAKER, GEORGE.

The Composition or making of the moste excellent and pre*tious Oil called Oleum Magistralo.* First published by the commaundement of the King of Spain, with the maner how to apply it particulerly. The which Oyl cureth these diseases folowīg. That is to say, Woūds Contusiōs, Hargubush shot . . . Also the third book of Galen of curing of pricks and wounds of Sinowes . . . Faithfully gathered and translated into English by George Baker Chirurgian. 1574.

Dedicated to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

This Magistral Oil was introduced into Spain by a Moor in 1566, and according to the author was widely used in Spain as a cure-all.

This was the second book published in England on the treatment of gun-shot wounds. See No. 12.

21. 1576. RICH, BARNABE.

Allarme To England, foreshew*ing what perilles are pro*cured, where the people liue without regarde of Martiall lawe. With a short discourse conteyning the decay of warlike discipline, con*uenient to be perused by Gentlemen, such as are* desirous by seruice, to seeke their owne deserued prayse, and the preseruation of their countrey. Newly deuised and written by *Barnabe Riche* Gentleman.

Malui me diuitem esse quam vocari.

Of the three dedications the first is to Sir Christopher Hatton, Captain of the Queen's Guard.

In this Rich describes the wretched state of Ireland and the condition of the common English soldier.

In addition to the dedications, Rich included addresses to the Reader, and "To the valiant Captaynes and renowned Souldiers of England" for their "better encouragement, encrease of credit, estimation and necessarie maintenance, according to their due desertes." There are commendatory verses, and verses by Rich to the Reader on why he wrote the book.

Rich dilates upon the uselessness of arms—of which there were plenty in the Tower—without military training and through ill practises in recruiting. His stricture:

> "but if Maister Constable be in love and charitie with his neighbours, then some odd fellow must be picked out that doth least good in the parish, it is no matter for his condition, they think he can not be too ill to make a souldier of," was only too true. The quality of the troops recruited for the Low Countries in 1585 and following years was often very bad.

22. 1578. P[ROCTER] T[HOMAS].

Of the knowledge *and conducte of warres, two bookes,* latelye wrytten and sett foorth, profitable for suche as delight in Hystoryes, or martyall affayres, and necessary for this present tyme.

Virtuti pariter cunctis contendite neruis: Ignaua (Vt scopulos) otia diffugite.

Seeke vertue, noble youth betymes,
Which breadeth honour true:
Base idlenesse, and all her baytes,
Euen as a rocke eschue.

Written because "I finde Vegetius onely, an auncient writer, and Machiauell of these affayres, well translated into Englishe, which aucthours being bothe experte in warres, and also verye learned . . . yet Machiauell . . . is . . . diffuse . . . And Vegetius being a writter, when warres weare vsed in an other course then they are nowe a dayes . . ." declared Proctor.

"The first (book) entreateth of the Captayne and Souldiours, And the second of the discipline observations and admonitions of warre . . ." he explained.

23. 1578. Bourne, William.

Inuentions or Deuises. Very necessary for all G*eneralles and Captaines, or Leaders of men, as wel by Sea as* by Land: Written by *William Bourne. An. 1578.*

Bourne's book was written for the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord high Admiral and dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham, destined to succeed Lincoln in that office on his death in 1585.

The work discusses problems of, and devices relating to, sea warfare; ordnance; sieges; and warfare in the field; it includes descriptions of making reflecting and refraction telescopes of glasses set up in frames in a room.

24. 1578. Bourne, William.

A booke called the Treasure for traueilers, deuided *into fiue Bookes or partes, con*tayning very necessary matters, for all sortes of Trauailers, eyther by *Sea or Lande, written by* William Bourne.

Dedicated to Sir William Winter, "Master of the Queen's Ordinaunce by Sea, of her highnesse marine causes" whose son was a Company Commander and Captain of the Queen's *Aid*, on Drake's Caribbean Expedition of 1585-86.

The first book explains Triangulation and was thus of particular importance for the production of accurate plans and maps for military operations and harbour plans and charts for naval purposes.

25. 1579. Digges, Thomas.

An Arithmeticall Militare Treatise, named *Stratioticos: Compendiously teaching the Science of Nūbers* as well in Fractions as Integers, and so much of the Rules and Æquations Algebraicall and Arte of Numbers Cossicall, as are requisite for the Profession of a Soldiour. Together with the Moderne Militare Discipline, Offices, Lawes and Dueties in every wel gouerned Campe and Armie to be obserued: Long since attēpted by Leonard Digges, Gentleman; Augmented, digested, and lately finished, by Thomas Digges, his Sonne. *Whereto he hath also adioyned certaine Questions of great Ordinaunce, resolued in his other Treatize* of Pyrotechny *and great Artillerie, hereafter to bee published.*

Dedicated to Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, his patron. He states that he had "spent many yeares in reducing the Sciences *Mathematicall*, from *Demonstratiue Contemplations*, to *Experimentall Actions*, for the seruice of my *Prince* and *Countrey*," and that his aim now was "to reduce those *Imaginatiue Cõtemplations*, to sensible *Practical Conclusions*" the more particularly as he had found many who thought changes in weapons changed principles of war. "But as among many with whome I have conferred . . . " he wrote, "generally . . . if they had bene in a few skirmishes, or taken any degree in Fielde, they thought that . . . the time was changed, the Warres were altered, and the furie of *Ordinaunce* suche, as all those Romane Orders were meere toyes once to be talked of in these oure dayes: As though the *Heavens* and *Elementes* had chaunged their *Natures*, or *Men* and *Weapons* so altered, as no humaine reason might attaine to consider the difference . . ."

His aim also was "to sette downe the *Office* and dutie of eache person and calling, passing from a *Priuate Souldiour*, to a *Generall*, with certayne *Militare* Lawes to be obserued in euery well gouerned *Armie* . . ."

These he dealt with in chapters under headings such as: "The conditions and qualities that ought to be in a private Souldier . . . ; The office of a Corporall . . . ; The duty of a Serieante of a Band . . . ; The Office and duty of the Ensigne . . . ; The Lieutenante of a Bande, his Office . . . ; The Office and duetie of a Captaine . . . ; of a Coronel . . . ; The Office of the Scoute maister . . . ; of the Serieante Maior . . . ; of the Lieutenant or Generall of the Horsemen . . . ; of the Master of the Ordinaunce . . . ; Of the Maister Gunner . . . ; Of the Lorde high Marshall in the fielde . . . ; The Office of the high Treasurer . . . ; The maister of the victuals . . . ; Of the Muster Maister . . ."

Thomas Digges went out as Muster-master of the English Expeditionary Force in the Low Countries in 1585. He was an exceptionally able and honest man who, as a consequence, incurred considerable odium amongst the military captains through his enforcement—to the best of his ability—of the regulations designed to avoid peculation.

Stratioticos was undoubtedly the most able and influential of the military treatises hitherto published in England.

26. 1579. Gates, Geoffrey.

The Defence of Militarie *profession*. Wherein is eloquently shewed the due commendation of Martiall prowesse, and plainly prooued how necessary the exercise of Armes is for this our age.

Dedicated to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Lord great Chamberlain of England.

This is the same class of book as Rich's *Allarme to England* of 1578.

Gates served with Sir John Norris in Friesland. He argues on the need for, and on the honourable nature of martial training.

27. 1580. Blandy, William.

The Castle, or picture of pollicy *showing forth most liuely, the face, body and* partes of a commonwealth, the dusty, *quality, profession of a perfect and ab*solute Souldier, the martiall feates encounters and skirmishes lately done by our English nation, vnder the conduct of the most noble and famous Gentleman M. Iohn Noris Generall of the Army of the states in Friseland. The names of many worthy and famous Gentlemen which liue

and haue this present years, 1580. ended theyr liues in that Land most honorably. *Handled in manner of a Dialogue betwixt Gefferay Gate, and William Blandy, Souldiars.* Faber est quisque fortunae suae.

Dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney.

The conversation discusses soldiers and the ideal qualities of officers, and then recounts the military exploits of the English contingents fighting in the Netherlands under the Dutch of whose commanders Sir John Norris (1548-1597) was the most renowned. Christopher Carleill was the Sergeant Major of the English Regiment and Blandy describes his and other officers' qualities and virtues.

28. 1581. STYWARD, THOMAS.

The *Pathwaie To Marti*all Discipline, deuided into two *Bookes, verie necessarie for young* Souldiers, or for all such as loueth *the profession of Armes: latelie* set foorth by Thomas *Styward Gen*tlemen. The First Booke *Entreateth of the Offices from the highest to the* lowest, with the lawes of the Field, arming, muster*ing and training of Souldiers, with the imbat*tailing of such numbers, to the greatest force *of the like Regiments.* The Second Booke *Entreateth of sundrie proportions and training of* Caleeuers, and how to bring Bowes to a *great perfection of seruice, with imbattailling of* greater Regiments: also how to march with *a Campe Royall: likewise how to encampe the* same, with diuers Tables annexed *for the present making of your battells,* as otherwise to know how *manie paces they require in* their march and battels from 500 *to* 10,000.

Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1013, is stated by Cockle to give an edition of 1582 "Now imprinted, and deuided into three books. Whereunto is added, the order and use of the Spaniards in their martiall affairs: which Copie was lately found in the Fort in Ireland, where the Spaniards and Italians fortified themselues. The Third Book comprehendeth the very right order of the Spaniards, how to traine, march and encampe, with diuers tables therein contained."

The work is a compilation of many standard Italian, German, French and English sources brought up to date by the author, with many diagrams, and dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham, who became Lord high Admiral of England in May, 1585.

29. 1582. [1583] GUTIERREZ DE LA VEGA, LUIS.

A Compendious Treatise, entitled De re militari, containing principall orders to be obserued in Martiall affaires . . . Newlie Translated into English by Nicholas Lichefield. *Ianuarii Primus*, 1582.

Dedicated to "Master Philip Sydney."

Presumably a translation of Gutierrez de la Vega's *Nuevo tratado y compendio de Re militari*, Medina del Campo, 1569. [Not sighted]

30. 1585. WHETSTONE, GEORGE.

The honorable repvtation of a Souldier: With a Morall Report, of the Vertues, Offices, and (by abuse) the Disgrace of his profession. Drawen out of the liues, documents, and disciplines, of the most renowned Romaine, Grecian, and other famous Martialistes. By George Whetstone, Gent. Malgre de Fortune.

Whetstone dedicated this moral treatise to Sir William Russell together with dedicatory verses addressed to:

"The Right Valiant Gentlemen & Souldiers, that are, or shalbe, Armed under the Ensigne of Sainct George" for service in defence of the Low Countries, wishing them "In recompence of their worthie adventures, Heauen, and everlasting honor." Whetstone opened his book with an anecdote of how "The Spaniard is so insolent, and outragious where he ouercommeth, as he is hated to death of those which obaye him for feare: I haue seene ample experience therof . . ." he closes it with "therefore, you worthy Gentlemen, which are armed in Gods and her Maiesties seruice: for that your quarrel is grounded upon compassion and Justice, and polliticke iudgement, for the Safetie of your owne Countrey, I hope (which thousands desire) you shall returne attired, with your enimies ouerthrowe . . ."

31. 1586. WHETSTONE, GEORGE [Another edition.]

The Honourable Repvtation of a Sovldier . . . By George Whetstone, Gent. De Eerweerdighe Achtbaerheyt Van Een Soldener . . . Leyden

This edition contains a "Short introduction to English Speech."

32. 1586. DUDLEY, ROBERT, EARL OF LEICESTER.

Lawes and Ordinances, set downe by Robert Earle of Leycester, *the Queenes Maiesties* Lieutenant and Captaine General of her armie and forces in the Lowe Countries: Meet and fit to be obserued by all such as shall serue her Maiestie vnder him in the said Countries, and therefore to be published and notified to the whole Armie.

For date see Digges *Stratioticos,* 1590. (2nd Ed.)

The Laws and Ordinances issued by Drake and Carleill at the Cape Verde Islands to their troops in 1586 would have been similar.

33. 1587. BOURNE, WILLIAM.

The Arte of shooting in great Ordnaunce.

Contayning very necessary matters for all sortes of Seruitoures eyther by Sea or by Lande. Written by William Bourne.

Possibly published before Drake sailed for Cadiz.

Dedicated to Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

Peter Whitehorne in 1562 had given the earliest English description of the making of "Saltpetre, Gunpowder and divers sortes of Fireworkes or wilde Fyre," but until Bourne's work (actually written in 1578) was published in 1587 there was no printed work in the English language giving a comprehensive and connected description of the Gunner's art and armoury. The English learned their gunnery from Germans, Dutchmen and Flemings. The writers on gunnery were Italian—with one exception, a German, Ryff. Tartaglia published the first work on the subject at Venice in 1537.

34. 1587. RICH, BARNABE.

A Path-way *to Military practise.* Containinge Offices, Lawes, Disciplines and orders to be obserued in an Army, with sundry *Stratagems* very beneficiall for young Gentlemen, or any other that is desirous to haue knowledge in *M*artiall exercises. *Whereunto is annexed a* Kalender of the Im-

battelinge of *men: Newlie written by* Barnabe Rich Souldiour, servaunt to *the right honorable* Sir Christopher Hatton *Knight. Malui me diuitem esse quam vocari.*

Perhaps published before Drake sailed for Cadiz.
The first of the two dedications was to Queen Elizabeth.

35. 1587. Clayton, Giles.

Clayton Giles. A briefe discourse, of martial discipline. (Middelburgh) [Not sighted]

36. 1587. La Noue, Francois de.

The Politicke And Militarie Discovrses Of the Lord *De La Nowe. Whereunto are adioyned certaine obseruations of the same Author, of things happened during the three late ciuill warres of France.* With a true declaration of manie particulars touching the same. All faithfully translated out of the French by E.A.

The translation was dedicated to George, Earl of Cumberland.
This was a standard work by one of the most brilliant generals of the age. It may have been published before Drake sailed for Cadiz. E.A. was Edward Aggas, a stationer. The original was published at Basle in French this same year.

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CARLEILL, CHRISTOPHER. *A discourse upon the entended Voyage to the hethermoste partes of America: written by Captaine Carleill . . . to satisfie suche Marchauntes, as in disburcing their money . . . doe demaunde forthwith a present returne of gaine . . .* [London, 1583]

Biii, verso—Biv, verso, contains: "Articles set downe by the Comitties appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchauntes, to conferre with Master Carleill, upon his entended discouereis and attempt into the hethermost parties of America."

A careful reading of the page Bii, verso, of the printed version shows that *A discourse* was composed in 1583, a conclusion supported by the statement in the reprint of it in Hakluyt, 1598-1600, III, 182-187, where it is described as having been "written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583."

Not entered in S.T.C. The only recorded copies are in the John Car-

ter Brown Library, Westminster Abbey Library, and at Dulwich College. A manuscript version of *A discourse* is found in the British Museum, Burleigh Papers, Lansdowne Mss. Vol. C, art. 14.

In the Hakluyt Society Edition (1850) of Richard Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, London, 1582, is included a letter (S.P. 12/170) of Hakluyt's of 1st April, 1584 to Walsingham in which he refers to Carleill's interest in furthering "westerne discoueries."

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The text opens with "The friendly Admonition of Anthonie Now now, to Mopo and Pickering, Archoverseers of the Ballad singers, in London, or elsewhere."

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Dillon, the Viscount. "The Army: Military Service and Equipment. 2. Armour and Weapons." *Shakespeare's England* 2 Vol., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916.

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But see Cruikshank, above.

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With an interesting Epistle Dedicatory by Hakluyt, to Sir Walter Raleigh, on the contemporary colonial and international scene.

——— *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation* . . . London, 1589. (British Museum G.6604, i.e. containing the 6 leaves between folios 643-4, of Drake's voyage of circumnavigation of 1577-80)

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The following entry in Arber refers to the above work:—1587, 15 Junii: henry hasselup. Received of him for printing:

The most fortunate and honorable service for England performed by Sir Ffrauncis Drake the 19 of Aprill 1587 with his latest exploictes.

Auctorised vnder th[e] [h]and of the Bishop of London . . . vjd

Henry Haslop or Hassellup was in business as a printer in London 1586-91. The son of a Yorkshire miller, he was apprenticed to Wm How, Stationer of London, for 8 years on Nov. 1st 1577; transferred to Roger Ward the printer, and made freeman August 25, 1586. He printed *Certaine English Verses* by L.L., this year. In the following year he obtained the MS. account of Sir F. Drake's Expedition to Spain. He gave this to W. How to print for him and it was published by Ed. White at the Gun in St. Paul's Churchyard, Haslop apparently editing it. (McKerrow)

It is to be noted that it was Haslop who printed *The Mariner's Mirror,* published in 1588, the first English "waggoner," or book of sailing directions with charts and navigational tables and instructions.

The following entry in Arber is the relevant one:

"3 Aprilii 1587 henry hassellup Receaved of him for printinge *the Seafaringe lookinge glasse touchinge th*[*e*] *art of nauigation with Diuerse mappes etc.* Authorised by th[e] archbishop of C[anterbury] . . . vjd."

Anthony Ashley (knighted for his services on the Cadiz raid of 1596) who translated the work from the Dutch commented that the correction of the proofs, in particular of the charts, had taken longer than expected. The result was that it came out in October, 1588. There is no indication of the printer or publisher on the title page or colophon but an explanatory note, on the title page, taken in conjunction with the date of registration and the date of registration of Haslop's *Newes out of the Coast of Spaine* leaves little doubt that Haslop was the printer. The note reads:—

"Herein also may be understood the exploits lately achieved by the right Honourable the L. Admiral of Englād with her Ma.^{ties} Nauie and some former services don by that worthy knight S^{r}. Fra. Drake."

Drake's only former services covered by the charts were those of 1586 and 1587 on and off the coasts of Spain.

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HOLLAND, H. *Her*ω*ologia Anglica*, London, 1620.

Contains, in Latin, biographical notices, with portraits, of many of the outstanding Elizabethan men of action and politics. The best source for details of Carleill's life.

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An anthology of sea poems, songs and ballads, with an introductory essay. It includes part of Greepe's ballad and asserts in the introduction that he took part in the Expedition.

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MOTE, HUMPHREY. *The Primrose of London with her valiant aduenture on the Spanish Coast, beeing of the burthen of 150 Tunne. Declaring the maner how 97 Spanyards came aboord the same ship, th[e] course of the skirmish, and how by their valiance they discomfited them. Wherunto [is] added the copie of the Kinges commission for the imbarment of all English ships. Truely published by Humphrey Mote.* Imprinted at London for Thomas Nelson, 1585.

With a woodcut of a warship, flying the royal standard of England at the Main, the St. George's Cross at the fore and an heraldic standard from the ensign staff, identical with that on the title page of Greepe's *The True and perfecte Newes*, 1587.

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REDGRAVE, G. R. See Pollard, A. W.

ROBARTS, HENRY. *A most friendly farewell, Giuen by a welwiller to the right worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of her Maiesties Nauy, which he appointed for his honorable voiage, and the rest of the fleete bound to the Southward and to all the gentlemen his followers, and captaines in this exploite, who set sale from Wolwich the XV. day of July, 1585.*

Wherein is briefly touched his perils passed in his last daungerous voiage, with an Incouragement to all his saylers and souldiers, to be forward in the honourable exploite. Published by Henry Robartes of London Citizin. Imprinted at London by Walter Mantell and Thomas Lawe. [Harvard University Press, 1924]

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